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the 1990s, the number of people in the UK who are employed in the public sector has increased by 1.5 million, from 2.5 million in 1980 to 4 million in 1995. The public sector has become a major employer in the UK, and its growth has been a major factor in the overall growth of the economy.

The public sector has also become a major provider of social services, and its growth has been a major factor in the overall growth of the economy. The public sector has become a major provider of social services, and its growth has been a major factor in the overall growth of the economy. The public sector has become a major provider of social services, and its growth has been a major factor in the overall growth of the economy.

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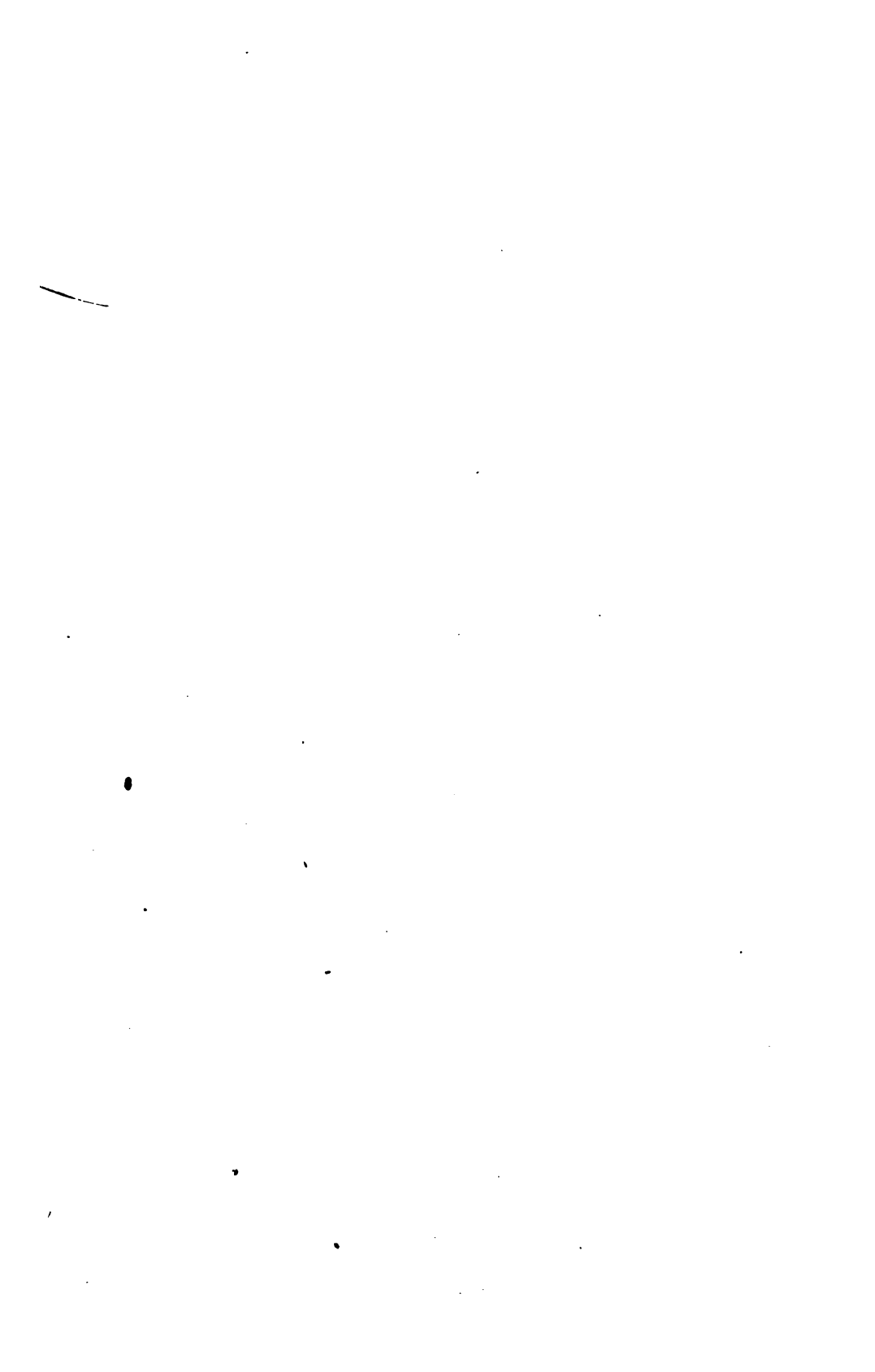
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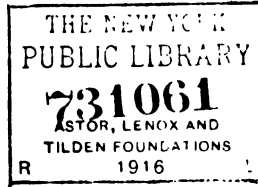
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THE INDIANS ✓
OF
BERKS COUNTY, PA., ✓
BEING A SUMMARY OF ALL THE TANGIBLE RECORDS
OF THE
ABORIGINES OF BERKS COUNTY,
AND CONTAINING CUTS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF THE VARIETIES OF
RELICS FOUND WITHIN THE COUNTY.
WRITTEN FOR THE
SOCIETY OF NATURAL SCIENCES,
READING, PA.,
BY
D. B. BRUNNER, A. M.,
Superintendent of the Schools of the City of Reading.

—
READING, PA.:
The Spirit of Berks Book and Job Printing Office
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PREFACE.

In writing the HISTORY OF THE INDIANS OF BERKS COUNTY, PA., I attempted to gather all the reliable information upon the subject. It would be more satisfactory if some of the incidents could have been more definitely located, and if the dates of others could have been given with greater accuracy, while many interesting transactions between the Whites and Indians, which would add much to this narrative were never written, and are now beyond our reach.

The relics in the county are very numerous, and had cuts been given to exhibit all the peculiarities, it would have been necessary to multiply the illustrations. All the important features of the stone implements of the Indians are figured, and will aid the people of our advanced state of civilization to form an approximate idea of the life of the Indians, when they lived in their original style, before they came in contact with the white people and changed some of their customs by reason of the improved utensils and weapons obtained from them.

D. B. BRUNNER.

READING, PA., April, 1881.

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INTRODUCTION.

We live in an age of research. The genius of man is assiduously striving to discover some new principle in philosophy, or to invent a machine to give a new impulse to our varied enterprises. The geologist, anxious to know the history of the formation of the earth, enters the deepest recesses, examines the rocks and fossils, and reads in them the changes through which our globe passed before it became fit for the habitation of man. The student of history is no less diligent in his researches. Not content with a general knowledge of events, he goes through all the avenues of the past to trace out the successive changes of a place and is often compelled to lament that so many important items of local history are buried in oblivion. The history of States and Counties have been written, containing full descriptions of their organization, progress and development. Even families trace their genealogy back as far as they can; and these records do not only afford interesting reading for their descendants, but frequently preserve important historical incidents.

Several histories of Berks County have been published, but some important events connected with our early settlements were omitted, and especially that part which relates to the Indians that peopled this county before its occupation by the Europeans. There can scarcely be anything more interesting to us than the thrilling events that occurred in the immediate vicinity of our birthplaces. How intensely interesting it would be to read a detailed account of our county, from its first occupation by the aborigines to the present time, giving all its vicissitudes while under the dominion of the Indians, and all the hardships, trials and sufferings of our forefathers and their dreadful conflicts with them. Some of the principal transactions during a period of the greatest commotion, have been preserved in the Colonial Records, but some of our old citizens still give us other interesting rehearsals of trials and escapes from Indian barbarity to which there is no allusion made in the Records, and, yet, when compared with authentic history, the time is correct and there is reason to believe that they are substantially true.

We long to get the exact details, but they have lost some of their reliability and many important particulars have been lost by having passed through several generations. We strive to learn more of the facts, but we inquire in vain because many traditions fail to give us minutely what we wish to learn. We search anxiously in books and old documents, but, alas! a large part of the history of the past was never written, and now it is gone far beyond our reach. We stand behind the curtain that divides the past from the present, and we wish that the curtain could be raised that we might rescue from oblivion the unwritten history of the trials, sufferings and murders of the early settlers of Berks, but the past is irrevocable, and our wishes cannot be gratified.

There are, however, fragments of the early history of our county extant which, when read in connection with the study of the relics, will give us the most accurate knowledge of the past that it is possible to obtain and will ena-

ble us to form some idea of the aborigines of Pennsylvania and the sanguinary conflicts between civilization and barbarity in Berks county.

In compiling the aboriginal history of Berks county, it would be very incomplete without cuts and descriptions of the Indian relics still found abundantly in localities where the Indians had their villages. They are invaluable to the historian, because in the absence of the written history of the Delawares, they are instruments by which we can conjecture with some certainty what were many of their habits of life and modes of warfare. I desire to call the attention of all persons of Berks county to the importance of collecting and preserving these relics. They are sometimes found, and broken or thrown into places where the eyes of man will never see them again, by men who on not value them as relics worthy of preservation. Let me entreat every persdo to pick up and preserve all specimens, and if he has no desire to preserve them from destruction, let him give them to some enthusiastic collector in the county, who will take good care of them. Agents have passed through the county and purchased lots of them for a mere pittance. These relics are disappearing rapidly, and unless we put a higher value upon them and preserve them for the future citizens of our county, these historical mementos of the aborigines of Berks county will pass into the hands of collectors outside of the county, and no money will be able to restore them.

A few years ago I became deeply interested in the study of the Indian Relics of Berks county and immediately commenced to make a collection. I was surprised to find so great a variety and abundance of them. My enthusiasm increased as rapidly as my collection was augmented, until I deemed it a subject worthy of a description in which many persons would be interested. My first design was to give a mere description of the relics, but this would have covered only that part of the Indians most involved in mystery and would have failed to give what is really known of them and what might prove most interesting to many readers. The interest that I felt in the subject and a desire to awaken an enthusiasm in the minds of the young people to preserve the Indian relics and also the landmarks of our forefathers, still in existence, induced me to undertake the task of writing the History of the Indians of Berks county, which, had it been written a generation or two ago, would contain interesting information of a local character that is not to be obtained now.

If I succeed even partly in the object I have in view, I shall feel compensated for the time and labor expended in collecting the information and illustrating the work.

It may seem odd to see the early part of the history at the end of a book, but by going from the known to the unknown, some of the surmises that may be made in describing the implements will be more plausible, and the real original life of the Lenni Lenape can be imagined with more certainty.

THE INDIANS OF BERKS COUNTY, PENN'A.

Then and Now.—Prior to the year 1682, when William Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians, which was “never sworn to nor broken,” the Delawares had undisputed sway in the eastern part of Pennsylvania. Few, if any, Europeans ventured any distance from the settlements on the Delaware River. Where an observer might then have seen a little smoke ascending from the rude wigwams, are now seen clouds of smoke and steam issuing from furnaces and machine shops. Where the Indian brandished his scalping knife and tomahawk, and where his war whoop echoed from hill to hill, the farmer plows his field and reaps his golden harvest in peace and quietness, and the whistle of the locomotive and “the sound of the church-going bell,” reverberate through the beautiful valley of the Schuylkill. Where now the city of Reading is situated, with all its hum of machinery, palatial buildings, fine streets, splendid stores, magnificent churches and excellent schools, was situated not two centuries ago a large Indian village, and on the spot where a large quantity of the finest hardware is made, the Indian artisan chipped his flint arrow-heads and ground his axes; and where the “gay belles of fashion” promenade streets illuminated by gas “the Indian lover wooed his dusky mate” clad in robes of feathers and skins of animals.

Delawares.—New Jersey and a large portion of Pennsylvania were inhabited by a powerful tribe of Indians called Delawares, or *Lenni Lenape*, which in their language signified *original people*. They were divided into three sub-tribes called the Unamis or *Turtle*, Unalachtgo, or *Turkey*, and the Minsi or *Wolf*. These tribes were again divided and received names from the places where they lived; each settlement had its chief who was subject and reported to the head sachem. The Wolf tribe extended over the south-eastern part of Pennsylvania, and consequently included the Indians of Berks county.

Taminent, Allumapees (also called Sassoonan) and Teedyuscung were successively the chief sachems of the Delawares from the time of Penn's treaty, until the Indians disappeared from this part of the country. They had their headquarters at Minisink and Shamokin. Manangy was the chief of the Schuylkill Indians living along the Schuylkill river and the Tulpehocken. There is very strong reason for believing that the Indians along the Manatawny and in Oley formed another sub-division of the Wolfs, with its chief living somewhere in Amity. This view is corroborated by the fact that on several occasions the chief of the Delawares, in company with other Indian dignitaries, came to Amity to hold an interview with the Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. It is extremely doubtful whether the Indians would have come from Shamokin and spent a fortnight in Amity unless it had been a place where they were accustomed to meet to deliberate for the welfare of the tribe and attend to their diplomatic affairs. There was a large Indian village in Virginsville and a very extensive one in Maxatawny, each of which undoubtedly had its chief.

Early History.—In order to understand more clearly the relation between the early settlers and the Indians, and to see whether there were any causes for the sanguinary conflicts and heart-rending murders that occurred in Berks, it will be necessary to give a brief statement of that part of the history of Pennsylvania, with which the history of our county is inseparably connected, and without which it would have no connecting link with the past.

When the Europeans first landed upon the shores of America the Indians were the owners of the land and it would have been hazardous to make any settlements in the wilds of Pennsylvania without first obtaining their consent and goodwill. Penn sent his cousin William Markham to America in advance of his arrival, who, under the instruction of Penn, commenced that conciliatory course with the Indians by which Penn afterwards gained their unwavering confidence and universal esteem.

"On the 27th of October, 1682, nine weeks after the departure from Deal, the *Welcome* moored off New Castle, in the territories lately ceded by the Duke of York, and William Penn first set foot in the New World"* When he arrived in Philadelphia soon afterward, one of his first acts was to hold a friendly intercourse with the Indians. He was of a peaceable disposition and proposed to conquer their savage natures by means of humane treatment and equitable dealings. He accordingly appointed a day to meet them at one of their famous resorts under an elm tree at Shackamaxon (Locality of Kings) for the purpose of making a treaty with them. When the Indians were seated in a semicircle Penn addressed them and stated to them that he would not take any of their land from them, but that he would pay them for it; that they and their children would be friendly and brotherly toward each other; that all the paths should be free to the white men and Indians; that the doors of the white men should be open to the Indian, and those of the Indian should be open to the white men; that if a white man harmed an Indian, or an Indian a white man, both parties should unite to apprehend the offender and punish him; that they would assist each other in every thing, and that they would tell their children of this league and friendship, and would keep it inviolate as long as "the sun and moon endured."

Not long after the treaty Penn purchased a number of tracts in the vicinity of Philadelphia and paid the Indians promptly therefor, and thus by his acts he confirmed the principle so strongly enunciated in the treaty that the intercourse between the settler and the Red Men was as friendly, their dealings as honest and equitable as they could possibly have been between two civilized races.

The boundaries of most of Penn's purchases had no definite limits, and neither bearings nor distances of the courses being given, and thus it is impossible to glean any satisfactory information with reference to this matter from the old records.

In 1683 Penn purchased from King Kekerappan "that half of all his lands lying betwixt the Susquehanna and Delaware;" on June 15, 1691, a "tract lying between Neshamany and Potquissing upon the river Delaware, and extending backwards to the utmost bounds of the said province," and on the 5th of July, 1697, another tract "lying and being between the creek called Pennypack and the creek called Neshamany, so far as a horse can travel in

**Dixon's Life of Penn* 198.

two summer days." When we consider the great difference in the speed of horses, and how little the people knew of the topography of the country, it becomes evident that these tracts were not limited in certain directions, and included Berks county beyond a peradventure. Oley was settled between 1704 and 1710, and Amity about the same time, and since Penn would not have permitted any settlement upon land for which the Indians were not satisfied, and since the Pennsylvania Archives do not show that any other purchase of land was made in this part of the State to which Berks could belong, until 1732, we must conclude that the purchase just referred to must have extended beyond our borders.

Tulpehocken, spelled Tulpewihaki according to the Indian orthoephy, signifies the *Land of Turtles*, and was so called on account of the abundance of turtles found along the creek, Tulpehocken.

The earliest record that we have of the Indians of Berks county, is an interview which took place March 12, 1705, between a chief and John Evans, Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania. Manangy, the Indian chief on the Schuylkill, called upon the Governor in Philadelphia in behalf of the Ganawese or Piscataway Indians living on the Potomac, who, reduced by sickness to a small number, desired to settle among the Schuylkill Indians, near Tulpehocken. The Conestoga Indians living on the Susquehanna, in Lancaster county, became guaranties of a treaty of friendship between them. "The Governor gave them a kind invitation, through the said Manangy, to come and settle as near as they should see fit, provided they would take care and live peaceably, and that the said Manangy and the Indians of that place with him, would appear and engage (promise) that they should behave themselves well and dutiful to this government."* There is no direct mention made of the time of the removal of the Ganawese to Tulpehocken, but four years afterward they were classed among the Indians living in the vicinity of Berks county, and on the 20th of May, 1728, they were represented at the Provincial Council in Philadelphia by five Kings. This seems to indicate that they were still numerous, or that an unusually large per cent. of their population consisted of Kings.

As soon as the Indians were pacified by Penn's kindness and his liberal presents to them whenever they visited Philadelphia, men would go out among them with such articles as the Indians needed in their domestic affairs and barter with them for the skins of animals that they hunted, and knowing that they were afflicted with some of the weaknesses of civilized life, the traders would take rum with them, and when they had intoxicated the Indians they would defraud them. Such treatment was a violation of Penn's treaty, and if it had been allowed to go on it might have excited the revenge of the Indians, and there would scarcely have been an end to the massacres of innocent people. The Council in Philadelphia passed stringent laws to prevent all dealing with the Indians except such persons as were authorized. Nicole, a French trader, disregarded these laws and carried on an illicit trade with the Indians at Paxton, in the northern part of Dauphin county. The Governor, with a small party, went to arrest him; when they had captured him, the Governor reported: "we parted for Tulpehocken; having mounted Nicole upon a horse, and tied his legs

*Col. Rec. vol. 2, p. 197.

under his belly; we got within a mile of Tulpehocken about two of the clock on Friday morning, and about seven the Governor went to the town, from thence we went to Manatawny that night, and the next day to Philadelphia."† The old Philadelphia road through Stonersville and Amityville, which was the great highway to Philadelphia before the pike and railroad were made, was laid out by the Indians. It is not known how long this road had been used by the Indians, but it was a direct route from Philadelphia to Shamokin, and all the delegations of Indians from Berks and the counties north and northwest of it, traveled on this road to the seat of government; and in all probability it was an Indian thoroughfare hundreds of years before it was trodden by the foot of a white man.

Amity.—Amity township was one of the famous dwelling places of the Indians, and was called by them *Menhaltanink*, changed into Manatawny, which in their language signified *where we drank liquor*; but when it was afterwards settled by the English its name was changed to Amity, and Manatawny was applied to the stream that flows through that section of the township. Monocacy is the Indian name of another stream in the township, and signifies a *stream with large bends*. It was originally spelled *Menakesse*.

Lieut.-Governor Gookin reported to the Provincial Council on May 13, 1712, that "he received a letter from Mounce Jones, of Manatawny, dated May 4th, purporting that four Indian Kings were there and desired the Governor to meet them on the 8th at the said Jones' house, which letter came but to the Governor's hand on the 9th."‡ These Indians were about to make a journey to the Five Nations, living in New York. But before their departure they deemed it proper to consult with the Governor and show him the belts of wampum which they proposed to give to the Five Nations, as tokens of renewed friendship, and in order not to make their route too circuitous, they desired the Governor to meet them in Amity. The Governor was to meet them on the 8th, but he did not receive the letter until the 9th. At the advice of the Council he remained at home on account of a press of business, and William Wivall was sent to the Indian Kings to request them to appoint a place nearer to Philadelphia, for the conference. He reported to the Council May 16, that the Indians desired the Governor to meet them at Edward Farmer's, some distance north of Philadelphia. The business for which they came was not transacted in this county. They waited at least nine days for the Governor to make his appearance, and it was only in consequence of a delay in the messenger that carried the letter that he did not meet them in time. Amity was one of their noted headquarters, and about midway between Philadelphia and the different tribes represented by the Kings; we, therefore, have a right to claim the transactions of this meeting as a part of the history of Berks county.

On May 19, 1712, the Provincial Council met at White Hall, at the house of Edward Farmer. "Sassoonan, their chief, Scollitchy, Ealochelan and eleven others waited on the Governor." Jones mentioned four Kings, the other seven were undoubtedly Manatawny Indians. Scollitchy, their speaker, said "they were about to visit the Five Nations, and they thought fit first to wait on the Governor and Council, to lay before them the col-

†Col. Rec., vol. 2, page 405.

‡Col. Rec., vol. 2, p. 569.

lection they had made of their tribute to offer, and to have a conference with the Governor upon it; they, thereupon, laid upon the floor thirty-two belts of wampum of various figures, and a long Indian pipe called the Calumet, with a stone head, a wooden or cane shaft and feathers fixed to it like wings, with other ornaments."§ They gave the Governor a bundle of skins as a mark of their appreciation of his kindness, and closed their interview by "filling their calumet or long winged pipe with tobacco, and lighted it, they presented it so lighted to the Governor and each of the Council and others, to smoke a few blasts of it as the token of the greatest friendship that could be shown."|| Smoking the calumet among the Indians was the seal of their friendship, and it was more rigidly observed and more binding upon them than mortgages and judgments among civilized people.

The Indians that had gone to visit the Five Nations returned, and met the Provincial Council on October 14th, 1712. They said that they were kindly received, and presented in behalf of the Five Nations "a parcel of deer skins to the Governor for him to make breeches for himself and friends." The Delaware Indians had one hundred and twenty skins.

Wampum is the Indian name for money. It is not claimed that this belonged to the Indians of Berks county exclusively because it is inserted here, but for the reason that very few histories give any satisfactory or intelligent description of the circulating medium among the Indians. In reading history and especially the Colonial Records and the Pennsylvania Archives, we frequently meet with such words and phrases as *wampum*, *fathom of wampum*, *belt of wampum*, and are at a loss to know what they mean. A quotation from an author¶ who spent many years among the Delawares as a Missionary, will explain these words. "Wampum is an Iroquois word, meaning a muscle. A number of these muscles, strung together, is called a string of wampum, which, when a fathom long, is termed a fathom or belt of wampum, but the word string is commonly used whether it be long or short. Before the Europeans came to North America, the Indians used to make their strings of wampum chiefly of small pieces of wood of equal size stained either black or white. Few were made of muscles, which were esteemed very valuable, and difficult to make; for, not having proper tools, they spent much time in finishing them, and yet their work had a clumsy appearance. But the Europeans soon contrived to make strings of wampum, both neat and elegant, and in great abundance. These they bartered with the Indians for other goods, and found this traffic very advantageous. The Indians immediately gave up the use of the old wooden substitutes for wampum and procured those made of muscles, which, though fallen in price, were always accounted valuable. Having first sawed them into square pieces about a quarter of an inch in length, and an eighth in thickness, they grind them round or oval upon a common grindstone. Then a hole being bored lengthwise through each, large enough to admit a wire, whip-chord, or thin thong, they are strung like beads and the string of wampum is complete.

§Col. Rec., vol. 2, p. 571.

||Col. Rec., vol. 2, p. 574.

¶Loskiel, part 1, page 26.

Four or six strings joined in one breadth, and fastened to each other with fine threads, make a belt of wampum, being about three or four inches wide, and three feet long, containing perhaps four, eight, or twelve fathoms of wampum, in proportion to its required length and breadth."

The money of the Indians had no intrinsic value. Wood and shells were abundant, but they became valuable only in proportion to the amount of labor bestowed upon them to put them in a desirable shape. If our specie were made of the same material as that of the Indians, there would be no end to mints and few persons would have any reason for being "hard up" at any time, but in this event coin would be so abundant as to lose all its value.

Schuylkill Indians.—The chiefs of the Delaware and Schuylkill Indians visited the Council June 14, 1715. It appears that a report was circulated that reflected upon the fidelity of the Indians in their compacts with the white men. When this reached their ears, the chiefs at once repaired to Philadelphia "to prevent any misunderstanding," and thus set an example which is often overlooked in similar cases, by men superior to them in intellect and intelligence. Sassoonan, the grand sachem, "opening the calumet with great ceremony of their rattles and song, offered it to the Governor, Council and all others, and then with the same ceremony put it away again." To give additional assurance of their sincerity, they gave the following presents: 45 raw fall deer skins, 8 summer deer skins, 53 dressed, 84 whole foxes, 12 raccoons and 3 ordinary fishers. It is not stated how many of these the King of the Schuylkill Indians took from Berks. Presents were given them in return the following day. When a week afterward they had occasion to meet the Council again, they had evidently been led astray and imbibed too much "fire-water," because the Governor said that he "could have wished that they had more effectually taken the advice that was given them to forbear excessive drinking and especially to avoid rum; since it disorders them so very much, and ruined their health, they ought to shun it as poison."

Amity.—The First Conflict with the Indians.—While there existed the most amicable relationship between the officers of the government and the different tribes of Indians, there were occasional conflicts between individuals and small parties of Indians, which, if the Governor had not adjusted speedily, might have led to very serious results. The first of these on record occurred in Manatawny, or Amity, which may at that time have extended considerably beyond its present limits.

This skirmish took place in the beginning of May, 1728. Intelligence was brought by express to Lieut.-Governor Patrick Gordon on the morning of the 10th of May, that a party of foreign Indians had attacked the people of Amity, whereupon he hastened to Manatawny, and on the fifteenth he reported to the Council that the people in Amity were terror-stricken and many had left their houses and "seemed under great apprehensions of numbers of Indians coming back to attack them," and that several Palatine families had gathered together at a mill in New Hanover, in Montgomery county, in order to defend themselves. He examined several persons there and also at Colebrookdale, and learned that there were eleven Indians led by a Spanish Indian as captain, "and having been rude in several houses where they forced the people to supply them with victuals and drink, some of our inhabitants, to the number

of twenty, a few of whom were armed with guns and swords, went in search of the said Indians, and coming up with them they sent two of their number to treat with the captain, who instead of receiving them civilly, brandished his sword and commanded his men to fire, which they did and wounded two of our men, who, thereupon, returned their fire, upon which they saw the said captain fall, but he afterwards got up and ran into the woods after his party, having let his gun and matchcoat behind him and since that time they had been seen no more."

"The Governor said that though he had this account from one of those who were then present, he could not help thinking our people had given some provocation, and wished that it might not appear so when the Indians should give there relation of this matter."*

Before the Governor came to investigate this affair a message with a small present, was sent to Civility, one of the chiefs of the Conestoga Indians in Lancaster, to assure them that the Governor deprecated the unfortunate encounter, and that he would give a full account of it at a treaty at Conestoga, which was held soon afterwards.

These Indians disappeared mysteriously. They were sent by Kakow-Watchy, the chief of the Shanawese, who having heard that the Flatheads had come into this province to attack the Delawares, sent them to inquire into the truth of the rumor. Their version of the affair was that after their provision had been exhausted they asked the white people for food, but they treated them rudely and fired upon them. The King expressed his regret at the occurrence, at the treaty, and was very readily pacified, but he wished to have the gun returned which one of his men had lost.

Some of the inhabitants of Amity and Colebrookdale were so incensed at the conduct of these Indians that they were determined to kill any Indian they might find, but the Indians had left and never after molested the people of that section of the county.

It was at this time that a petition of inhabitants of Colebrookdale, signed by more than fifty persons, was sent to the Lieut.-Governor, in which they "do humbly beg your excellency to take it into consideration and relieve us, the petitioners hereof, whose lives lie at stake with us, and our poor wives and children, that are more to us than life."†

Cacoosing.—The land along this creek which divides Spring township from Lower Heidelberg, was inhabited by the Indians, according to whose pronunciation it was spelled *Gokhosing*, but in the Colonial Records *Cucussea*, and signifies a *place of owls*.

When the Governor was in Amity investigating the Indian troubles there, he received a message by express dated May 11, 1728, from Samuel Nutt, living at Molatton, now Douglassville, that an Indian man named Tocacolie, and two women were cruelly murdered by Walter and John Winter, at Cacoosing. The Governor at once ordered "all the Sheriffs, Coroners, Constables, and His Majesty's other subjects" with a "hue and cry" on horse and on foot, to apprehend Walter Winter and John Winter, of Chester county. It must be remembered that up to this time there were only three counties in Pennsylvania, viz: Philadelphia, Chester, and Bucks. All of Berks county

*Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 321.

†Penn Archives, vol. 1, p. 213.

west of the Schuylkill was in Chester county, and all east of it was in Philadelphia county. Warrants were also issued for the arrest of Morgan Herbert and John Roberts, who were found to be implicated in the affair. The Winters and Herbert were captured, Roberts was not.

"The coroner was dispatched to take an inquisition of the dead bodies, and to bury them wrapt in linen, and was further directed that in case any of their relatives should be there, he should present them with four strouds to cover the dead bodies and to give two strouds to the Indian girls, and to employ some person to cure their wounds, and further to assure them that the offenders should not go unpunished."[†]

Messengers were also sent to the chiefs of the different tribes to apprise them of this unhappy occurrence and to appease their revengeful spirit by giving each of them two strouds. A stroud was an article of clothing in the shape of a blanket.

On the twelfth day of May Walter Winter was arraigned before Edward Farmer, one of the justices of Philadelphia county, and testified "that on the tenth day of this instant he had heard by a Dutchman who lives at Tulpo-hocken, that the Indians had killed sundry Dutchmen, viz., had killed two and wounded three Christians, whereupon the said Walter went about the neighborhood, and desired the people to get together to his house to defend themselves against the Indians, and returning again to his own house, where he was making fast the windows, in case any attempt should be made upon them. One John Roberts's son, came to the house of the said Walter, and desired the said Walter to go to his father's house and assist him, for that there were some Indians at his father's house with a bow and a great number of arrows, and that his father was in danger of being killed, whereupon the said Walter, with his father-in-law, Morgan Herbert, each having a gun, went away to the house of the said John Roberts, (the gun of the said Walter being loaded with one bullet and ten swan shot,) and as the said Walter and Morgan Herbert were going to John Roberts's they met with John Winter, who had with him a shot gun, and thereupon John Winter took the large gun and gave the small gun or pistol to Morgan Herbert, and when the said Walter with Morgan Herbert and John Winter came over the log that lies over the run just before Roberts's door, he saw John Roberts standing in his own door, he saw him have a gun in his hand, but whether he had it in his hand before this examinant came up to the house, or whether he went in for it afterwards, this examinant cannot say, and this examinant saw an Indian man, some women and some girls sitting on a wood-pile before John Roberts's door. And the Indian man getting up and took his bow and stepping backwards took an arrow from his back, putting it to the string of the bow, whereupon this examinant apprehending the Indian was going to shoot at him, this examinant presented his gun and shot at the Indian man, that he believes the Indian was wounded, for he saw blood upon his breast, that John Winter at the same time shot one of the Indian women, and then ran up and knocked another Indian woman's brains out, that two Indian girls ran away, that the examinant followed one and with a bow and arrow which he took up where the said Indians were sitting, he shot at one of the Indian girls and then overtook her and brought her back, and he then saw the Indian man get up and went

[†]Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 322

staggering in a swamp near the house, that John Winter and the examinant with Morgan Herbert, the next morning found the other Indian girl in Tocacolie's cabin; she was much hurt about the head and face, and she was ordered to go to Walter Winter's house, where she went accordingly.

It is not known what was the doom of Walter and John Winter, but it is probable that they suffered the extreme penalty of the law. On June 1, 1728, a jury at the court in Chester rendered a verdict that Morgan Herbert was "lawfully convicted for aiding and abetting Walter Winter and John Winter in the murder of certain native Indians, and though in strictness of law his offense may be adjudged murder, yet it appears to us that he was not active in perpetrating it."§ On account of his former good behavior they recommended him to the compassion and mercy of the Governor, who yielded to the wishes of the jury and consulted them as to the best manner of carrying out their recommendation. The remainder of this case is not recorded, but there is sufficient reason to justify the belief that Herbert was acquitted.

Douglassville.—The message that the Governor sent to the Indian chiefs, explaining the murder at Cacoosing, was received and accepted by them in a friendly manner; they entirely acquitted the government of any complicity in it and offered to meet the Governor at Molatton. The Governor seems not to have been aware of the appointment of this meeting until Allumapees, Opekasset, Kings of the Delawares, and Manawkyhickon, King of the Shawanese, with other Indians, were at Molatton. The Governor sent a messenger to invite them to come to Philadelphia, because "a long and hard winter had made corn and provision scarce," and he feared they would "want what's necessary at Molatton," but at Philadelphia they could "provide well for them." The Indians went to Philadelphia, and after they had gone through the usual formalities of those days, and made their speeches for the renewal and strengthening of their friendship, the tragedy of Cacoosing was ended by giving the Indians the following presents, viz: ten stroud matchcoats, five blankets, five duffels (coarse woolen cloth), five shirts, twenty-five pounds of powder, 60 lbs. of lead, 100 flints, two dozen knives, two dozen scissors, two dozen tobacco boxes, two dozen tobacco tongs, one dozen looking glasses and one pound of vermilion; three strouds, three blankets, three duffels, three shirts and six handkerchiefs for the relatives of the dead.

Douglassville was settled by the Swedes, by whom it was called Molatton.

Disputes about Boundaries.—In describing some of the purchases made by Penn, in my endeavors to show when he bought the land of Berks from the Indians, allusion was made to the indefiniteness of some of the boundaries. The settlers spread over the country with great rapidity and occupied the land. The Indians seeing this, believed that the white people settled on land for which they had not been paid. The Kings who had gone to Molatton, thence to Philadelphia, to treat about the Cacoosing affray, took occasion to visit the Provincial Council June 5, 1728, and informed the Governor that the English subjects were going beyond the limits of Penn's territory. The Secretary produced a number of deeds, and convinced them that none of their land was taken, whereupon they signed a release of "all the land situated between the two rivers Delaware and Susquehanna, from Duck creek (in Dela-

§Penna. Arch., vol 1, p. 226.

ware), to the mountains on this side of the Lechay (Lehigh).”* “Sassoonan (Allumapees) said that the land beyond these bounds had never been paid for, that they reached no further than a few miles beyond Oley, but that their lands on the Tulpehocken were seated by the Christians.”

“Mr. Logan (the Secretary), answered that he understood at the time that the deed was drawn and ever since that Lechay hills or mountains stretched away from a little below Lechay or forks of the Delaware to those hills on the Susquehanna that lie about ten miles above Paxton. Mr. Farmer said those hills passed from Lechay a few miles above Oley, and reached no further, and that Tulpehocken lands lie beyond them.”†

It was decided then that the Tulpehocken lands belonged to the Indians. The commissioners said that they authorized no one to settle there and seemed surprised to learn that such was the fact. Sassoonan said that he could not believe it himself that the Christians had settled on them, until he went there and saw their houses and fields.

A large number of Palatines had settled in New York, but their families having increased, they had not land enough to support them. Thirty-three of these families came to Pennsylvania with a desire to settle on the Tulpehocken. They wished to purchase land and applied to William Keith, Baronet, Governor of Pennsylvania, who permitted them to settle there without the consent or knowledge of the commissioners whose duty it was to sell and parcel out the land. There were fifty other families that wished to take up their abodes on the Tulpehocken if they could purchase land. These Palatines were very poor, but honest and conscientious in the superlative degree. They were not aware that there was any doubt about the proprietorship of the land on the Tulpehocken. They wished to settle there because it was reported to be some of the best land in the country, and since it was “the farthest inhabited part of the province north-west from Philadelphia,” and they desired to pay for their land, they thought this land could be purchased cheaper than land nearer Philadelphia, and still be on land purchased from the Indians and under the protection of the government. Another purchase of land from the Indians having been contemplated by the Governor, they were therefore permitted to remain in peace.

Berks and Lancaster Counties.—In 1730 Lancaster county was formed from Chester county by a line running from a place in the vicinity of Birdsboro to Octorora creek, emptying into the Susquehanna. From this time until 1752 that part of Berks county east of the Schuylkill was in Philadelphia county, Union and part of Robeson and Caernarvon were in Chester county, and the rest of the county was in Lancaster. Berks county was not organized until 1752. The term Berks is, however, used to denote the territory which forms the county at present.

Weiser and Shekallamy.—Conrad Weiser and Shekallamy were such constant companions and connected with nearly every important transaction between the government and the Indians, that it is impossible to give a sketch of the life of the one without giving that of the other.

*Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 339.

†Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 340.

Weiser spent his youth among the Indians of New York and learned to speak the Iroquois language. He must there have formed an acquaintanceship with Shekallamy, who was appointed by the Five Nations in 1728 to preside over the Shawanese, for whom Manangy, the King of the Schuylkill Indians, obtained permission from the Governor to live on the Tulpehocken. It is probable that they lived beyond the mountains at this time, since Shekallamy had his abode at Shamokin. Weiser moved to Pennsylvania in 1729, and settled about a mile east of Womelsdorf, where he died and was buried. In 1732 a party of Indians visited the Governor and suggested the propriety of appointing Weiser and Shekallamy who "shall travel between us and you, who will speak our minds and your minds to each other truly and freely." The Governor accepted this admirable suggestion. They were at once appointed and performed more diplomatic work than any two other men of their time. They met the Council for deliberation, were sent as ambassadors to the different tribes, when dissensions arose they were the peacemakers, and being bound together by the most friendly ties, they were universally respected for their wisdom in council, dignity of manners and conscientiousness in the administration of public affairs.

Rum at Tulpehocken.—The love of ardent spirits was as intense and uncontrollable among the Indians as among the Caucasians. The traders generally took a quantity of rum with them, with which to put the Indians into a good mood and barter profitably with them. The stern resolute character of the Red Men of the forest could not resist the temptation of "fire-water," and, though they knew the evil consequences of an over-indulgence, they were always glad and eager to imbibe whenever it was within reach. It seems that the chiefs did not resist the parties when they brought the liquor, but generally complained to the government and desired to have it stopped. On one occasion, August 13, 1731, Sassoonan called upon the Governor and "desired that no Christians should carry any rum to Shamokin, where he lived, to sell; when they want any they will send for it themselves; they would not be wholly deprived of it, but they would not have it brought by Christians, and also desired that some rum may be lodged at Tulpehocken and Paxton to be sold to them, that their women may not have too long a way to fetch it."† There was considerable discussion in the Provincial Council about the matter, but it is not stated whether the government granted the desire of Sassoonan.

With regard to the use of rum among the Indians, the government may have set a bad example because in the purchase of land or in giving presents to the Indians, rum was generally included.

Final Purchase of Berks County.—Sassoonan, who is called the sachem of the Schuylkill Indians in this deed, in company with six other Kings of the Delawares, sold to John, Thomas and Richard Penn, on the seventh day of September, 1732, "all those tracts of land or lands lying on or near the river Schuylkill in the said province, or any of the branches, streams, fountains or springs thereof, eastward or westward, and all the lands lying in or near any swamps, marshes, ferns or meadows, the waters

†Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 432.

or streams of which flow into or toward the said river Schuylkill, situate, lying and being between those hills called Lechay hills, and those called Kittatinny hills (Blue mountains), which cross the said river Schuylkill about thirty miles above (west of) the Lechay hills, and all lands whatsoever lying within the said bounds and between the branches of the Delaware river on the eastern side of the said land, and the branches or streams running into the river Susquehanna on the western side of the said land."§ This purchase included all the land in Pennsylvania not paid for before, and lying between the Delaware and Susquehanna, and south of the Blue mountains. The Indians, of their own free will, disposed of this land, and after this date they had no more claim, right or title to any of the land within the boundaries of Berks county, though the sale did not drive or exclude them from the land. At this time there were a number of Indians still living in the county, but their villages and council fires were moved beyond the Blue mountains.

According to the Surveyor General of Pennsylvania, the lower half of Berks county was purchased September 17, 1718, and the upper half October 11 and 25, 1736.

It will be interesting to know the price that was paid for this large tract of land, which included about half of Berks county. The Kings received 20 brass kettles, 100 stroudwater matchcoats of two yards each, 100 duffels do., 100 blankets, 100 yards of half tick, 60 linen shirts, 20 hats, 6 made coats, 12 pairs of shoes and buckles, 30 pair of stockings, 300 lbs. of gun powder, 600 lbs. of lead, 20 fine guns, 12 gun locks, 50 tomahawks or hatchets, 50 planting hoes, 120 knives, 60 pair of scissors, 100 tobacco tongs, 24 looking-glasses, 40 tobacco boxes, 1000 flints, 5 pounds of paint, 24 dozen of gartering, 6 dozen of ribbons, 12 dozen of rings, 200 awl blades, 100 pounds of tobacco, 400 tobacco pipes, 20 gallons of rum and fifty pounds in money (\$240.)

Lingahonoa, "one of the Schuylkill Indians," and undoubtedly an inhabitant of Berks, was not present at the sale and did not give his release until ten years afterwards. This seems to imply that he did not receive his share of the proceeds until a considerable time after the sale.

The articles paid for this and the tracts bought previously, and the numerous presents given the Indians when they visited Philadelphia officially, were generally articles indispensable in every sphere of civilized life. On one occasion there were "four dozen jewsharps" among the items presented by the government, and this shows that they must have had some taste for music. The Indians were resolute and very tenacious of their customs and habits of life, but the eagerness with which they accepted these articles and applied them to their proper uses, shows how quickly they saw that they were superior to theirs, and how readily they relinquished many of their usages and adopted those of the settlers.

Tulpehocken.—In the fall of 1732 a number of the Kings of the northern tribes sojourned nearly a month in Philadelphia during the continuance of a treaty. When their deliberations were ended, one of the chiefs said that "being about to depart in two days, they must request to be helped on their

§Penna. Arch., vol 1, p. 345.

journey homewards with horses from Tulpehocken to Mechaomy.”* The Governor replied that they would assist them, and what they desired should be ordered before their departure. This body of noted Indians came up the old road through Amityville, Stonersville, and Reading to Tulpehocken, where the government furnished horses under the direction of Weiser.

In October, 1732, the government “paid the miller at Tulpehocken \$7.25 for 10 bushels of meal delivered to Sassoonan, then in want of provision.”†

In September, 1736, Weiser informed the Governor that there was a large number of Indians of the Onondagas, Cayugas and Tuscaroras at Shamokin, who were on their way to Philadelphia to confirm the treaty of 1732. Weiser was directed to go and meet them at Shamokin and supply them with the necessaries on their journey to Philadelphia. The chiefs of these tribes had not been in Philadelphia for four years, and therefore stopped a few days at all the important places along the route to transact business relating to the welfare of their tribes. It is not known how long they sojourned at Womelsdorf, but since the home of Weiser was a home for the Indians, who were provided there with all the necessaries at the expense of the government, it is supposable that they spent a few days there.

There is no treaty on record that was as numerously attended by the Indians as the one held in Philadelphia in July, 1742. The delegation consisted of thirteen Onondagas, nineteen Cayugas, fourteen Anayints, three Sinikers, twenty-one Tuscaroras, five Showanese, eight Conestogas, ten Delawares, “and several others,” of whom there were fourteen chiefs, two counsellors, and three captains. The Iroquois, or Six Nations, were very powerful and as time passed many of the smaller tribes became tributary to them, and when the French and Indian war began, the Six Nations controlled nearly all the Indians east of the Mississippi. The appearance of strange names of tribes, in connection with those of the Six Nations, can only be explained on the ground that smaller tribes became allied to them. These Indians passed through Berks and “on their return from Philadelphia an open council was held at Tulpehocken.”‡ They were in charge of Conrad Weiser. How and with what comforts he entertained them it is not stated, but it was in July and it is probable that he only furnished the rations, and in other things the Indians accommodated themselves according to their usual habits of life. How long they remained at Tulpehocken it is not known, but \$500 and twenty gallons of rum were appropriated to defray their expenses and put them in good cheer. In their council they gave an enumeration of eight tribes in alliance with them and during their stay, Tacarcher, one of the Tuscaroras, died. From these facts we may infer that their sojourn continued some time.

Count Zinzendorf came from Bethlehem to visit the party. “In August the Count set out in company of Conrad Weiser to visit the people at Tulpehocken. On the 14th (1742) he met with a numerous embassy of sachems, or heads of the Six Nations, returning from Philadelphia. Though they were extremely wild, and had on the same day shot one of their own people, yet he would not omit so good an opportunity of preaching the gospel.—After about an hour’s consultation, the ambassador of the Onondaga and Cayuga Nations came to the

*Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 482.

†Col. Rec., vol. 3, p. 545.

‡Col. Rec., vol. 4, p. 586.

Count and addressed him as follows : Come therefore to us, both you and your brethren, we bid you welcome, and take this fathom of wampum in confirmation of the truth of our word."§ The Colonial Records say that Tacarcher died, but he was evidently the one that Loskiel says was shot.

When the Indians had sold their land south of the Blue Mountains in 1732 they gradually retreated beyond the mountains, so that at this period of our history none but isolated families were found in the county. As rapidly as the Indians retreated the white people followed, and unmindful of the fact that the Blue Mountains divided the land upon which the white people were free to settle, and that claimed by the Indians, they began to form settlements beyond the mountains contrary to their treaty with Penn. Deputies were sent to Philadelphia in August, 1749, by the Senecas, Onondagas, Tutatoes, Nanticokes and Conoys, to counsel with the Governor and protest against the formation of settlements beyond the mountains. The Governor listened to their speeches and assured them that there should be no more trespass upon their land, and as usual gave them a large number of presents to send them off in a good mood.

Conrad Weiser marshaled these Indians to Philadelphia and back again, and judging from Gov. Hamilton's speech in the Council soon after their departure, there must have been some mischievous characters in this embassy. The Provincial treasury was empty. The Governor advanced Weiser sixty pounds to defray their expenses and then said : "he (Weiser) must by this time have laid out a considerable sum more which you will order payment of; and though from your long knowledge of his merit it might be unnecessary in me to say anything in his favor, yet as the last set of Indians did damage to his plantation, and he had abundance of trouble with them and is likely to meet with much more on this occasion, I cannot excuse myself from most heartily recommending it to you to make him a handsome reward for his services."||

Oley is an Indian name, and was written by Heckewelder *Olink* or *Wohlink*, or *Olo*, or *Wahlo*, and means a *cavern* or a *hollow among the hills*. It was inhabited by a considerable number of Indians, and it appears that the semi-civilized Indians remained longer in Oley than in any other part of the county, and yet, during all the bloodshed and commotion in other parts of the county, tranquillity reigned there to such an extent that it was scarcely mentioned in the old records. The Moravians who had settled in Oley, were on the most friendly terms with the Indians, and, having a mission there, they labored earnestly to christianize the Indians. In February, 1742, the Moravian synod met in Oley, and on this occasion three Indians, Shabash, Seim and Kiop came from New York, where they had been instructed, to be baptized, and received the patriarchal names, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. The Indians left soon after the conclusion of this solemn rite, and went to Bethlehem. What transpired among the Indians in Oley appears to be buried in oblivion.

Purchase beyond the Mountains.—On the 22d of August, 1749, Thomas and Richard Penn bought of the Indians all the land lying between

§ Loskiel, part 2, p. 27.

|| Col. Rec., vol. 5, p. 396.

the Susquehanna and Delaware, and extending from the Blue Mountains to a direct line running from Lackawaxen on the Delaware, in the northern part of Pike county, to Mahanoy creek on the Susquehanna, about twelve miles below Sunbury, for five hundred pounds—about \$2500.

Berks.—A bill was passed in the Provincial Council March 6, 1752, “for erecting parts of the counties of Philadelphia, Chester and Lancaster into a separate county.” In October of the same year the usual officers were elected and Berks was enrolled in the list of the counties, though it extended far beyond the Blue Mountains.

The Indians become Hostile.—Very little is known of the Indians of Berks county from the time of its organization until the commencement of the French and Indian War in 1754. From the earliest settlement in Berks to the beginning of that great event, the lion and the lamb lived in the same land in the greatest peace and harmony. The brotherly love with which Penn began his intercourse with the Indians, and which had been so ardently exercised in all their relations, kept the bond of peace firm and unbroken for the period of fifty years. The Red and the White men would pass each other in the woods without any fear of harm; they would visit each other in their rustic habitations in a social manner, and their chiefs and civil officers would meet in council, discuss and transact business conducive to the prosperity of each race, with more dignity and decorum than is often exhibited in the legislative halls of the present day. But, as the real life of the Indian was incompatible with that of the white race, and a friendly spirit existed between them, the Red Men gradually receded from the settlements of the white people, who followed them closely and kept their savage nature in subjection by purchasing land and constantly giving presents. They looked back and saw that in the space of one generation they had lost a large part of their favorite hunting ground, and when they looked into the future to see what would be their doom eventually, they often showed signs of that revengeful spirit which caused so much terror afterwards among the settlers of our county.

The Delawares drew north and west and came into the power of the Iroquois or Six Nations. In the meantime the French and Indian War broke out. The French discovered and settled Canada and claimed the country as far south as the Ohio river. The English discovered and settled the Atlantic coast and claimed the country north of the Ohio river. There was a dispute between the French and English about the boundary line, and out of this arose what is called the French and Indian War. The French, living near to the Six Nations, appealed to their base passions, succeeded in arraying them against the English, and the Six Nations being the masters of the Delawares, compelled them to take up arms against the English, and then began a series of such cruel butcheries and heartless massacres that we cannot read them now without shuddering. When the Indians are friendly their friendship is true, but when they become enemies, their barbarity is unbounded.

When the officials of the government learned that the Indians had united with the French they knew that they had not only a determined and relentless enemy to battle with, but that it was necessary to throw a protection around the settlements on the frontier. Since very few families had settled beyond the Blue Mountains, the government determined to build a line of forts from the Susquehanna to the Delaware at a distance of about twelve miles apart.

The object of these forts was entirely different from that of the forts of the present time. They were placed near settlements and were intended for places of refuge to which the people could flee for protection in times of danger. They were put up hastily and in a temporary manner, and seemed to serve their purpose well. But they were too far apart. The Indians did not come in large numbers to fight and batter down the forts. These they evaded. They followed the guerrilla mode of warfare, and, issuing from the woods they fell upon unsuspecting and unprotected men, women and children engaged in tilling the soil, and murdered them in the most shocking manner.

Before proceeding to relate the events that followed it will not only be a matter of great interest to know the names and location of these forts, but it will enable us to get a more intelligent idea of the maneuvers of the Indians and the difficulties our men encountered to defeat them.

Here there is a chasm in our history which it is impossible to bridge. A link of the chain is broken and it is difficult to unite both parts as satisfactorily as it might be desired. When the conflict occurred on the Ohio in the spring of 1754 the war was immediately at hand. Shekellamy, the great Indian agent, died in 1749 and about the same time the Indians moved their "council fire" west from Shamokin, a place where they had it for many years. The Pennsylvania Archives do not say what were the preliminary steps taken in the erection of the forts. The first knowledge we have of them is when they were garrisoned with soldiers and the people sought refuge in them during the night.

Thus far we studied the friendly element in the character of the Indian and we often saw traits and qualities in him as great and noble as those that distinguish the enlightened race, but now we are compelled to turn a leaf in his history, and study the hostile, revengeful element in its worst form. We are often constrained to pause and wonder how men that have been so humane for half a century, can be guilty of such brutality and ferocity as were practiced by them in the northern parts of Berks county from 1754 to 1763.

Fort Henry or Dietrich Six's.—This fort was located in Bethel township, about three miles north of Millersburg and one west of Round Top mountain. I visited this place November 27, 1879. It was on the farm which formerly belonged to what was called Umbehacker's hotel, but now it is in the possession of Mr. George Pott, by whom I was conducted to the place where it stood. It was located about fifty yards from the old Shamokin road that leads over the mountains. The place was elevated so that the guard could see some distance in every direction. The field has been under cultivation for a number of years and there is no sign of it remaining except in plowing up fragments of clay pipes, and stones of the foundation are thrown up. The Colonial Records do not give a description of this fort, and this induces the belief that it was a fort erected on the property of Dietrich Six by the people of that vicinity for their protection. The Records make several allusions to the people's fleeing to Dietrich Six's, and at no time was there any distinct mention made of its being a military post. There was also a Fort Henry in Lebanon county at Swatara Gap, and this makes it difficult to decide sometimes which fort is meant. But since no mention is made of Fort Henry at Swatara Gap until February 1, 1756, and was then called Fort Henry at Tolheo, it is evident that Ft. Henry in Bethel was always meant until 1756.

It might be supposed that there is a mistake in the name of this fort, but a number of the old men who were brought up in the vicinity of the fort told me that this was the name that was applied to it by their parents and grandparents: It is not known definitely when this fort was built or abandoned.

Fort Northkill.—This fort was situated about two miles east of Strausstown, in Upper Tulpehocken township, on the Northkill, a small stream that empties into the Tulpehocken creek at Bernville. It must have been a secluded spot, because it is still in the woods and until recently was surrounded by large trees, though the land was cultivated close by when the fort was erected and there must have been a considerable settlement there or the fort would not have been placed there. The fort was built in the early part of 1754, because a certain officer, the writer of a journal, whose name is not given, visited it on the 15th of June, 1754. Ensign Harry had command of the fort at the time. The writer of this journal says, "Ensign Harry marched out of the Fort about 12 o'clock (after delivering it to me) with his men to Fort Lebanon, according to orders. Provisions I found in the Fort, as follows: 5 pounds of powder, 198 pounds of flour, 10 small bars of lead, 15 pounds of beef and pork, 3 ½ pounds of candles."*

With regard to the dimensions of the fort Commissary Young says, June 20, 1756: "the fort is about nine miles to the westward of the Schuylkill, and stands in a very thick wood, on a small rising ground, half a mile from the middle of Northkill creek. It is intended for a square about 32 feet each way; at each corner is a half bastion of very little service to flank the curtain—the stockades were ill fixed in the ground, and open in many places—within is a very bad log house for the people; it has no chimney and can afford but little shelter in bad weather."

I visited the spot where this fort stood, in company with Mr. Percival Goodman, of Strausstown, November 26, 1879. There is a large heap of ground close by, from the excavation of the cellar or underground chamber into which the women and children were placed for security. The ground fell into the cavity and the autumn leaves have been blown into it for one hundred and twenty-five years, so that by this time it is nearly full. Mr. Jonathan Goodman, of Strausstown, a man nearly eighty years of age, who was born and lived all his lifetime in the neighborhood of the fort, says that he remembers that the stockades were still in position, and higher than the ceiling of the room and that the form of the fort could still be seen in his younger days.

I must give an interesting fragment of history here, though it has no bearing upon the construction of the fort, but it is connected with its history. Mr. John W. Degler, who lives a short distance from the fort on a farm settled by his great grandfather, before the French and Indian War, has a memento of Indian robbery, which is an object of more than ordinary interest. Old Mr. Degler possessed the virtues common to many of the old settlers of this country—honesty, kindness, generosity and hospitality. The Indians used to frequent Mr. Degler's house. He always furnished them with victuals and such other things that they were in need of. They never molested anything on his premises and never conducted themselves

*Penna. Arch., vol. 2, p. 159.

in a manner to excite fear on his part, but when the Indians murdered the white people only a short distance from his house, he, fearing that they might become treacherous, moved his family in close proximity to the fort that they might be under the protection of the guard stationed there. The Indians lurking in the dense woods, espied him near the fort, believed that he had become hostile to them and joined their enemies. They at once proceeded to his house and finding him and his family absent, ransacked the house. Among the furniture demolished was a chest, which is still in the house belonging to the original property. The chest is of cedar wood, unpainted and protected on the edges with iron. The Indians split this chest completely through the middle. Small iron bands were put to the end to hold it together, but the lid is still in two pieces. The chest bears the date 1757, in which year it is presumed the Indians committed the deed.

Frederic Degler brought this chest from Germany, and when he died it and the property came into the hands of his son Frederic Jacob, thence they passed into the possession of his grandson John Degler, and now they are owned by his great grandson John W. Degler. The Degler family intend to preserve this chest and hand it from generation to generation as a relic of the fearful conflicts which their forefathers had with the Indians in the early settlement of this country. While the Indians plundered the house two stood guard some distance from the fort. These were captured, but were released again.



The preceding cut will give some idea of the manner in which the forts were built. The house within the stockades was generally built of logs and was often crowded uncomfortably by the neighboring inhabitants in times of danger. The stockades were logs, which were about eighteen feet long, cut in the woods where the forts were built, and planted in the ground as closely as possible. They were intended to protect the house and prevent the Indians from shooting the people the moment they stepped out of the house.

Fort Lebanon.—The next fort in order from the west was "Fort Lebanon on the forks of the Schuylkill." This was undoubtedly the largest and most important fort in the county. It is mentioned frequently in the Pennsylvania Archives, but its location is not more definitely described than "on the forks of the Schuylkill." On inquiry I find that there are no vestiges of it remaining, but the few distances that are given would locate it in the vicinity of Port Clinton, and since that would bring Ft. Lebanon in an almost direct line with the others, and since there is the only

place where the Schuylkill and Little Schuylkill make any thing like a fork, reason would seem to indicate that as its locality. It was then in Berks county, because Schuylkill was a part of Berks. It is now in Schuylkill, a short distance above the boundary line, but as it was erected almost exclusively for the protection of the settlers in the northern part of Berks, its history, therefore, belongs to Berks county.

This fort was also erected in the beginning of 1754. It is not explained why it was called Ft. Lebanon, and why in 1758 it was called Ft. William.

Two years after its erection it was described as follows: "Fort Lebanon, about 24 miles from Gnadenhutzen in the line to Shamokin. Fort 100 feet square. Stockades 14 feet high. House within built 30 by 20 with a large store-room. A spring within. A magazine 12 feet square. On a barren, not much timber on it. One hundred families protected by it within the new purchase. No township. Built in three weeks; something considerable given by the neighbors towards it."†

Fort Franklin.—The fourth and last fort on the frontier of Berks county was situated in Berks at that time on Lizard creek, and was built about two years later than the others. Since Schuylkill county was cut off of Berks the location of this fort is in that county, a few miles beyond the boundary, north of Albany township. The fort was sometimes called Ft. Allemangael, or Fort above Allemangael, or *Alle Mangel* (all wants), which was afterwards changed into Albany. *All Wants* might have been a correct name for Albany one hundred and twenty-five years ago, but it is certainly a misnomer now. Some of its land is undulating but much of it is level and the soil is very good.

The first information we have of this fort is from Benjamin Franklin, who, while superintending the erection of Fort Allen, where Weisport now stands, wrote to Governor Morris after it was finished, and said: "Foulk is gone to build another between this (Ft. Allen) and Schuylkill Fort (Lebanon), which I hope will be finished (as Texter is to join him) in a week or ten days. As soon as Hays returns I shall detach another party to erect another at Surfas' which I hope may be finished in the same time, and then I hope to end my campaign."‡ This letter was written January 25, 1756. There was a "Block House" and several other places where soldiers were stationed, between Fort Franklin and Fort Allen, and Surfas was evidently the name of a man upon whose property one of them was located. The fort was named in honor of its projector, Benjamin Franklin.

James Young, "commissary of ye Musters," visited the fort on June 21, reported the road from Fort Lebanon "a narrow path very hilly and swampy; about half way we came through a very thick and dangerous pine swamp; very few plantations on this road, most of them deserted, and the houses burnt down; half of a mile to the westward of this fort is good plantation, the people retire to the fort every night. This fort stands about a mile from the North Mountain; only two plantations near it. This fort is a square of about forty feet, very ill stockaded, with two log houses at opposite corners for bastions, all very unfit for defence, the stockades are very open in many places, it stands on the bank of a creek, the woods clear for 120 yards; the lieutenant

†Penna. Arch., vol. 2, p. 665.

‡Col. Rec., vol. 7, p. 16.

(Igle) ranges towards Fort Lebanon and Fort Allen, about four times a week; much thunder, lightning and rain all night."*

Other Forts.—The forts outside of the county comprising the chain, were on the west Fort Henry at Tolihaio, or Tolheo, Fort Swatara further west, Fort Manady, 14 miles east of Harrisburg on Manady creek, Fort Harris at Harrisburg, Fort Hunter at Hunter's Mill, some unknown distance north of Harrisburg, and Fort Augusta at Shamokin. The forts east of Fort Franklin were Fort Everet, a block-house, Fort Allen, where Weissport, Carbon county, is now located, thence a few others as far as to the Delaware.

Scalping.—The Indians never considered a victory complete, nor did they glory in the killing of persons unless they could show the scalps of their victims as trophies. If there is anything in Indian warfare more revolting to the feelings and sensibilities of civilized people than others, it is the barbarous practice of scalping their victims, dead or alive. The enormity of these inhuman acts of cruelty practiced upon so many innocent women and children in Berks county during the French and Indian War, cannot be conceived unless the manner in which it was done, is known.

"The Indians perform this operation in the following manner: they place their foot on the neck of the victim, seizing the hair with the left hand, and twisting it very tight together, in order to separate the skin from the head. Then they cut it all around with a sharp knife, and tear it off. This operation is often performed in a minute, and under certain circumstances is fatal, but not always. The scalp is painted red, placed upon a red pole in token of victory, to the great satisfaction of the whole nation, and carefully preserved in memory of their courage and prowess, in avenging the cause of their country. They like to carry off their prisoners alive, but bound, till they are no more in fear of their pursuers. In the night they are fastened to the ground, with their arms, legs, and necks bound to large stakes, and for greater security, a cord passes from them to a free Indian, who immediately awakes if they attempt to move. Yet, notwithstanding these precautions, they sometimes escaped. The European prisoners are immediately shorn after the manner of the Indians, and their heads and faces painted red, so as hardly to be distinguished from the Indians themselves. If any dispute arises between two warriors about a prisoner, he is immediately killed, to put an end to it."†

Military Protection in Upper Bern, Upper Tulpehocken and Bethel.—In order to give the reader some idea of the activity of the soldiers in the north-western part of the county, it will be necessary to give the journal of the commander at Fort Northkill. It begins June 13, 1754, and ends on August 31. It contains an account of what was done every day during this time. Some of the days are omitted in the quotation, because the duties performed were monotonous and contain nothing except an account of their daily scouting and usual work around the fort. The substance might be embodied in fewer words, but the readers would not get so complete an idea of the military operations.

Captain Busse, who is frequently mentioned in connection with the forts in Berks and Lebanon, was commander of a military station west of Fort North-

*Penna. Arch., vol. 2, p. 677.

†Lusk, part 1, p. 145.

kill, either at Fort Henry, in Bethel, or at the Swatara Gap, where "Fort Henry at Tolheo" was afterwards erected.

The commander says in his journal†: "Accordingly I set out from Reading by break of day on the 14th, and arrived at Lieut.-Colonel Weiser's, where I received orders to march with the company or detachment, to Fort Henry, and from there take a detachment of twenty men and continue till to Fort on Northkill. Accordingly on the

15th. In the morning I took the said twenty men from Fort Henry of the new levies, and marched straitway to the said fort (Northkill), accompanied with Captain Busse and Captain Smith. As soon as I arrived, I gave ensign Harry (then commander at Fort Northkill), notice of my orders, and sent off two men immediately to Col. Weiser with a report of the condition I found the fort in, and sent him a list of the new levies who were detached from Captain Busse's fort (Henry) with me to this fort.

16th. Captains Busse and Smith set off about 10 o'clock with a scout of ten men, which Captain Busse had ordered of his company on the 15th. (Here follows a description of the fort, quoted before.)

17th. I, with a corporal and twenty men, according to orders from Lieut.-Colonel Weiser, went a scouting and ranging the woods till to Fort Lebanon, where we arrived at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. We staid there all night, being not able to scout any farther or return home because of a heavy rain.

18th. Set off from Fort Lebanon in the morning, being rainy weather, and ranged the woods, coming back, as before, with the same number of men, and arrived at Fort on Northkill about 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

19th. Gave orders to Sergeant Peter Smith to scout to Fort Lebanon and to bring me report the next day of his proceedings. Accordingly he arrived on the 30th about 3 o'clock in the afternoon and made report that he had done according to his orders, and that he had made no discoveries. Received a letter from Captain Morgan, informing me that he had no news, &c., (Captain Morgan was commander of Fort Lebanon.)

20th. Sent off Coporal Shafer to scout as before.

21st. Minister Shumaker (who was pastor of a Lutheran congregation in Reading from 1754 to '57), came and preached a sermon to the company. The scout arrived from Fort Lebanon. The corporal reported that nothing strange had come to his knowledge. A scout of Captain Busse's arrived about 11 o'clock, and returned about 4 towards their fort, but upon the Indian alarms, they immediately returned back to my fort and gave me notice; in the midst of the rain I sent on the first notice Sergeant Smith with eighteen men, and ordered them to divide themselves in two parties.

23d. Sergeant Smith returned and made report that he arrived at Dietz's house about 10 o'clock in the night, where they heard a gun go off at Jacob Smith's, about a mile off. They immediately set off again from said Smith's towards the place where the gun went off, and surrounded the house (according to my orders). They searched all the house but found no marks of Indians. From this they marched to Falk's house in the Gap, and surrounded it, but found no Indians. From there they went to the mountain, and arrived there at 2 o'clock in the morning, where Sergeant Smith, according to orders, waylaid the road in two parties, and as soon as it was day went back

†Penna. Arch., vol. 2, p. 159 to 166.

and buried the man that was killed, to wit : Peter Geisinger, who was shot and killed the day before. At burying him, they heard five guns go off about two miles from said place, whereupon Sergeant Smith immediately repaired to the place, and divided themselves into two parties. (I have sent off Corporal Shafer with eight men, on the 22d, to their assistance.) Sergeant Smith also makes report that this morning about 7 o'clock a girl about 15 years, daughter of Balser Schmidt, was taken prisoner by two Indians, whose tracks they saw and followed, but to no purpose. A party of Captain Busse's company went along from this and remained with my men all the time. Fifteen or sixteen of the inhabitants came to me and applied for assistance. I ordered out several detachments to assist them.

June 24. I set off with twenty men from this to Captain Busse's fort, along the mountain, and called at the place where the murder was committed. Went up as far as the gap of the mountain, but as I found no tracks there, I thought the Indians would be on this side the mountains, therefore I went up along the mountains without opposition, till to Captain Busse's fort, and as it rained very hard all day and we went far about, we arrived there towards the evening.

June 25. Set off in the morning with the same number of men, and scoured the woods nearly the same way back again, and arrived towards evening in the fort, being rainy weather.

June 26. Received in the morning a letter for me, positively not to neglect my scouting toward Fort Lebanon, accordingly, immediately called in my detachments. This afternoon a woman living about one and a half miles from here, came to the fort, and said she had seen an Indian just now in her field, almost naked, and had a gun, but said she did not stay to look long. I immediately sent off Sergeant Smith with two parties, consisting of about 20 men. They searched the place, and found nothing, but saw two bare feet tracks. They divided into small parties, and scoured the woods till evening and then returned to the fort, and as I had to-day but men sufficient to guard the fort, I sent out no scout. This evening intelligence came to me from the Colonel (Weiser) informing me that he had notice from Captain Orndt of fifteen going to fall on this settlement on hereabouts. He ordered me therefore immediately to send notice to Captain Busse's fort, in order that it might be from there conveyed to Fort Swatara. I did accordingly.

June 27. Gave orders to Sergeant Smith to go scouting the woods between this and Fort Lebanon, and if Captain Morgan thought that it was serviceable, to range some way up Schuylkill, (as that gap is their common rendezvous.

June 28. A scout of Captain Busse arrived in the forenoon, and set off again this afternoon.

Upper Bern.—June 29. In the evening there came two men to the fort, and reported that the Indians had invaded about six miles from this, about 9 o'clock this morning. I was somewhat concerned that I had no sooner intelligence of it, however, I immediately sent off 12 men under two corporals.

June 30. About noon the two corporals returned and made the following report : That yesterday they could not reach the place, as they were tired, but staid at a house till nigh break of day, and then set off again. He did not immediately go to the place where the man, &c., were killed, but went somewhat further down towards the Schuylkill, thinking that the Indians had in-

vaded lower down, but as it was not so, he took another route towards the place where the murder was committed, and as he came there he found the man's wife (Fred. Myers) who had been at a plough, and shot through both her breasts and was scalped. After that he went to look for the man, whom they found dead and scalped some way in the woods. They took a ladder and carried him to his wife, where the neighbors came and helped to bury them, after which they went towards the mountain, and scouted along the same and arrived here about four o'clock in the afternoon. It is reported by the farmers who saw the deceased a short while before, that he was mowing in his meadow, and that his children were about him, which makes them believe that the man, after he had heard the shot (which killed his wife), went to run off with only the youngest child in his arms, as the man was shot through his body, and the child is one and a half years of age and is scalped, but yet alive, and is put at a doctor's. The other three, who were with their father, are taken prisoners; one of them is a boy about ten years old, the other a girl of eight years, and the other a boy of six years. There was a baby, whom they found in a ditch, that the water was just to its mouth. It was lying on its back crying. It was taken up, and is like to do well. A boy of one Reichard, of eight years, was taken prisoner at the same time. This was all done within half an hour, as some neighbors had been there in that space of time."

This heart-rending tragedy occurred about a mile and a half north of Sharlettsville, in Upper Bern, on the farm now owned by Frederick Moyer, the grandson of the little child that had such a narrow escape from cruel death. I visited this place on December 19, 1879, and heard Mr. Moyer's account of the massacre as it was handed down by tradition, and was surprised to find that it coincided in so many particulars with the account given by the commander of Fort Northkill. Frederick Moyer was one of the first settlers in that part of the county. He selected a piece of excellent ground, through which flows a stream of crystal water. He and his family were engaged in one of the most honorable and ancient occupations of life, enjoying health and full of bright hopes for the future, the little children frisking around, and tossing the new mown grass in their childish merriment, and surrounded as they were by the picturesque scenery of the Blue Mountains, and the beauties of nature which are so abundant there, they must have been in the enjoyment of real happiness without any thought of danger, but suddenly the Indian rushed from the woods and shot the mother, the father picked up the most helpless child, and in his efforts to escape also fell a victim to the barbarity of the Indians. Three young children were dragged into the wilds of the Blue Mountains by men who had murdered their parents, and who would undertake to describe the thoughts, feelings and anxieties of these young prisoners in the hands of men whom they feared and hated so bitterly?

Tradition says that the child found in the ditch was scalped and otherwise hurt, and died afterwards.

The child Frederick that was scalped and put to a doctor, was also shot through the arm, probably pierced by the bullet that killed the father, but recovered and in due time became the owner of the farm and died at the age of 78 years. The property then came into the possession of his son, Jacob M., and after his death, into the possession of his grandson, Frederick, who is the present owner. Mr. Moyer informed me that his grandfather died 50 years

ago. The traditional date therefore, agrees precisely with that given by the commander at Fort Northkill.

The Reichard mentioned in the report belonged to a family living on the farm now owned by Mr. Daniel Berger. Tradition says that the Reichard family was murdered, except one of the boys, whom the Indians had intended to take prisoner. Mr. Reichard used to tell his children if the Indians should come and attempt to take any of them alive they should resist to their utmost. This young boy wishing to carry out his father's request, continued to resist, and, when the Indians had brought him as far as to Moyer's, they, irritated by his insubmission, killed him with their tomahawks and scalped him.

It was also about this time that the Hostetter family was murdered near the forge west of Shartlesville.

A squad of soldiers were ranging the woods daily between Forts Henry, Northkill and Lebanon, but no Indians were seen for three weeks. On the 23d of July the commander of Fort Northkill marched along the mountain as far as to the east side of the Schuylkill, and remained at Fort Lebanon during the night and then says in his journal :

July 24th. Returned, and as soon as we came over on this side of the mountain, (it being yet early in the day), I took quite another route through the woods, but made no discovery, so we arrived at Fort Northkill in the evening. I had not been there one-half an hour before three farmers came and informed me that this morning the Indians had taken a boy of about 14 years prisoner, but had done no other damage. I immediately sent off a party, but as it happened, the boy being taken prisoner in the morning, night came on before my men could get there.

25th. In the morning I heard that the boy had escaped, and that he made report, and that there were four white men and four Indians with him, and that at night he escaped ; they had tied him and he was obliged to lie between them, but as they all got drunk and fast asleep, he untied himself and ran off. He further says that when he was taken prisoner he made a noise, and that they struck him and told him to be silent. I imagine they saw me with my men go over the day before yesterday. The Indians were this night about the fort, but it was very dark, therefore I did not sally out.

26th. This morning sent out Sergeant Smith with five men to search about the fort for tracks, but he only found one which was in a muddy place. But it being nothing but stones, he could not follow the tracks. It rained all day, therefore I could send no scouts.

Scouts were sent out every day, but nothing was seen of the Indians for a week.

August 4th. A scout of Captain Busse arrived and returned the same day. The inhabitants desiring assistance to bring in their harvest, I gave them some men, and went scouting, but as I left few men in the fort I returned this evening.

The soldiers often guarded the fields while the farmers took off their grain and hauled it away, because when they were engaged in this work, the Indians could approach them more closely without being observed.

"7th. This being Sunday, I took a party and went to church, as the

church lies near the mountain and the minister could not come without a guard."

This was undoubtedly the old Church half a mile east of Strausstown.

8th. The sentry fired at an Indian. The Indian stood behind a bush about 300 yards off, and was viewing the fort. I went off with eighteen men, and parted them in six parties, and went after the Indians, but could not come up with them. Went to clearing about the fort, it being thick of bushes.

9th. Continual clearing and burning bush.

10th. Sent off a scouting party who returned and brought no intelligence. This night the sentry about an hour after dark perceived that a fire which had been kindled to burn brush, but was before night gone out, began to burn afresh, upon which he called the Sergeant of the guard, who, perceiving the same, ordered the guard to fire, on which the Indians ran off. The dogs pursued them and kept barking after them about half a mile. I had the men all under arms, but everything being now quiet, dismissed them, ordering them to be in continual readiness with their accoutrements on. In about an hour the Indians returned and took a fire-brand out of the fire and ran off. They were immediately fired on, but in vain."

"14th. Being Sunday, Minister Shumaker came here and the soldiers being fatigued with continual scouting, there was no scout to-day."

"20th. Sent a scout of fifteen men to range the woods towards Schuylkill, into Windsor township, and with orders to call in some detachments lying in the said township, according to Lieut.-Colonel's order."

This implies that there was a military station in Windsor township, but there is no record given of its location, the number of men, or the time they were garrisoned there.

"23d. A scout of Captain Busse arrived. The sentry heard the Indians distinctly whistle this night in the fort words."

"26th. Ensign Biddle returned from his scout, having been at Captain Morgan's Fort [Lebanon], and thence scouted over the mountains into Albany, and thence along the foot of the mountain till here."

Fear in Upper Bern and Upper Tulpehocken.—For two months and a half the people of Upper Bern and Upper Tulpehocken were in constant fear of being murdered. These dreadful times began at and lasted during the busiest season of the year, when the crops were ripe and when the settlers were compelled to gather their harvest or expect to starve before another season for reaping had come. We, who have such an abundance of the necessities and luxuries of life, cannot realize the dreadful situation in which they were placed. This part of the county was not more exposed than the rest of the frontier, but it must have been the part most convenient for the Indians to commit their depredations. During the summer of 1754 nothing occurred in the vicinity of Fort Lebanon or Fort Henry, in Bethel. The commanding officers may not have kept records and transmitted them to the seat of government.

All at once quietness was restored and nothing more is heard of the forts and the soldiers until in the fall of 1755.

Flour for the Indians.—There were still a few friendly Indians living some distance above Shamokin with whom the government still kept up an intercourse. The Governor ordered Conrad Weiser with ten men, at the request of the Indians, to go 45 miles above Shamokin to fence in a field of corn for them, but when they came there most of them had deserted the place, because a great frost had destroyed all their corn. Weiser wrote to the Governor from Heidelberg, June 12, 1755, and said that he left there for the Indians three sacks of flour which he had taken for the support of his men, and in the same letter he wrote: I have bought of Christian Laver Lower, a miller of Tulpehocken, 120 bushels of good wheat, and 60 bushels of Jacob Fisher, his neighbor, to be distributed among the Indians as your honor will be pleased to direct.*

Weiser wrote again to the Governor, July 9, 1755, from Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg, "according to your order I came to this place last Monday, and found the Indians waiting for me. Yesterday I distributed about 200 bushels of meal among them, after that was over they inquired how things stood as to the war. I told them what had happened, &c.†"

Two weeks afterwards he "bought 500 pounds of flour and gave it to them," at Harris' Ferry, but among the people who remembered the Indian atrocities of the preceding year, such liberality ceased to be a virtue, if we judge from the concluding sentence of one of Weiser's letters: "Our people are very malicious against our Indians; they curse and damn them to their faces, and say, must we feed you, and your husbands fight in the meantime for the French?"‡ The warriors of the friendly Indians above Shamokin, had joined the English against the French and belligerent Indians, and the people through the Lebanon valley mistrusted that these warriors had gone to aid the French, and that they were feeding the wives and children of their enemies.

Gen. Braddock, who had come to America to take command of the English army, was defeated and mortally wounded in the battle of Monongahela, on the 9th day of July, 1755. This defeat of the English so elated the French and Indians again, that a considerable body of Indians began to move east and a few months afterwards we find a portion of Berks thrown into the greatest confusion and terror. As far as our records show tranquillity reigned in the county for a year, and the inhabitants may have had reason to hope that the incursions of the Indians had ceased, but the number of them and the murders they committed on their way, soon created a fear in their minds that the worst had not come yet. The massacres of families in Tuscarora, Penn's creek, and other places along the Susquehanna, reached the people living on the Tulpehocken in advance of the arrival of the Indians. Flight was impossible, and the thought of having no arms to protect themselves, and the inability of the government to furnish them, threw them into a state of desperation. There is no better way to present the state of affairs and the perturbation of the people than by quoting a number of letters written by men who were eye-witnesses. A few of them are rather lengthy, but they contain such a pathetic description of the state of affairs in Tulpehocken,

*Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 443.

†Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 467.

‡Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 495.

that any abridgement would fail to convey the idea so completely as the letters written by men who were prominent leaders in the defense against the Indians.

The first letter* that contains any positive information of the coming of the Indians, was written by Conrad Weiser to James Read, of Reading. It was written in Heidelberg, Sunday night, 11 o'clock, October 26, 1755. Mr. Weiser received intelligence of the approach of the Indians about 10 o'clock that evening, and immediately sent out men to give the alarm through the neighboring townships and to call a meeting early at Peter Spicker's. Peter Spicker lived in the upper part of Stouchsburg, in the house now owned by Dr. I. W. Newcomet. The meeting was announced to be held at Peter Spicker's, but Mr. Weiser's letter written the next day, reports that the meeting was held at Benjamin Spicker's, about one mile north of Stouchsburg. James Read sent a messenger to Philadelphia at 6 o'clock in the morning of the 27th of October to apprise the Governor of the approaching crisis.

James Read was Prothonotary, Register, Recorder, Clerk of the Orphans' Court and Clerk of the Quarter Sessions of Berks county from 1752 until 1775, and Jonas Seely was Treasurer from 1752 until 1768. He was also one of the Judges from 1752 until 1766.

The following letter, written to Gov. Morris, shows how the people rallied to defend themselves:

READING, October 30, 1755.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOR—Since the date of my last letter, which I sent by express, by Sammy Weiser, dated last Sunday evening, 5 o'clock, and about 11 o'clock the same night, I sent a letter to Mr. Read in this town, who forwarded it to your honor, by the same opportunity.

The following account of what has happened since, I thought it was proper to lay before your honor, to wit:—after I had received the news that Paxton people above Hunter's Mills, had been murdered, I immediately sent my servants to alarm the neighborhood. The people came to my house by the break of day. I informed them of the melancholy news, and how I came by it, &c. They unanimously agreed to stand by one another, and march to meet the enemy, if I would go with them. I told them that I would not only myself accompany them, but my sons, and servants should also go—they put themselves under my direction. I gave them orders to go home and get their arms, whether guns, swords, pitchforks, axes or whatever might be of use against the enemy, and to bring with them three days' provision in their knapsacks, and to meet me at Benjamin Spicker's, at three of the clock that afternoon, about six miles above my house, in Tulpehocken township, where I had sent word for Tulpehocken people also to meet.

I immediately mounted my horse, and went up to Benjamin Spicker's, where I found about one hundred persons who had met before I came there; and after I had informed them of the intelligence, that I had promised to go with them as a common soldier, and be commanded by such officers, and leading men, whatever they might call them, as they should choose, they unanimously agreed to join the Heidelberg people, and accordingly they went home to fetch their arms, and provisions for three days, and came again at three

*Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 650.

o'clock. All this was punctually performed; and about two hundred were at Benjamin Spicker's at two o'clock.

I made the necessary disposition, and the people were divided into companies of thirty men in each company, and they chose their own officers; that is, a captain over each company, and three inferior officers under each, to take care of ten men, and lead them on, or fire as the captain should direct.

I sent privately for Mr. Kurtz, the Lutheran minister, who lived about a mile off, who came and gave an exhortation to the men, and made a prayer suitable to the time. Then we marched toward Susquehanna, having first sent about fifty men to Tolheo, in order to possess themselves of the gaps or narrows of Swatara, where he expected the enemy would come through; with those fifty I sent a letter to Mr. Parsons, who happened to be at his plantation.

We marched about ten miles that evening. My company had now increased to upwards of three hundred men, mostly well armed, though about twenty had nothing but axes and pitchforks—all unanimously agreed to die together, and engage the enemy wherever they should meet them, never to inquire the number, but fight them, and so obstruct their way of marching further into the inhabited parts, till others of our brethren come up and do the same, and so save the lives of our wives and children.

The night we made the first halt, the powder and lead was brought up from Reading, (I had sent for it early in the morning), and I ordered it to the care of the officers, and to divide it among those that wanted it most.

On the 28th, by daybreak, we marched; our company increasing all along. We arrived at Adam Read's, Esq., in Hanover township, (Lebanon county,) at about 10 o'clock—there we stopped and rested until the rest came up.

(Here the letter says that Mr. Read received intelligence from the Susquehanna that a party of forty men went to John Penn's creek, thence to Shamokin, and on their return they were fired upon by the Indians in ambush and that "twenty-six of them were missing and not heard of as yet, last Monday.")

Upon this we had a consultation, and as we did not come up to serve as guards to the Paxton people, but to fight the enemy, if they were come so far, as we first heard, we thought best to return and take care of our own townships.

After I had given the necessary caution to the people to hold themselves in readiness, as the enemy was certainly in the county, to keep their arms in good order, and so on, and then discharge them—and we marched back, with the approbation of Mr. Read. By the way, we were alarmed by a report that five hundred Indians had come over the mountain at Tolheo to this side, and had already killed a number of people. We stopped and sent a few men to discover the enemy, but, on their return, proved to be a false alarm, occasioned by that company that I had sent that way the day before, whose guns getting wet, they fired them off, which was the cause of alarm—this not only had alarmed the company, but the whole townships through which they marched. In going back, I met messengers from other townships about Conestoga, who came for intelligence, and to ask me where their assistance was necessary, promising that they would come to the place where I should direct.

I met also at Tulpehooken, about one hundred men well-armed, as to fire-arms, ready to follow me; so that there were in the whole about five hundred men in arms that day, all marching up towards Susquehanna. I and Mr. Adam Read counted those who were with me—we found them three hun-

dred and twenty.

I cannot send any further account, being uncommonly fatigued. I should not forget, however, to inform your Honor that Mr. Read has engaged to keep proper persons riding between his house and Susquehanna, and if anything material shall occur, he will send me tidings to Heidelberg or to Reading, which I shall take care to dispatch to you. I find that great trouble has been taken at Reading to get the people together, and nearly two hundred were here yesterday morning; but upon hearing that the people attending me were discharged, the people from the country went off without consulting what should be done for the future, through the indiscretion of a person who was with them, and wanted to go home; and near the town they met a large company coming up, and gave such accounts as occasioned their turning back. I think most of the inhabitants would do their duty; but without some military regulations we shall never be able to defend the province.

I am sure we are in great danger, and by an enemy that can travel as Indians, we may be surprised when it would be impossible to collect any number of men together to defend themselves, and then the country would be laid waste. I am quite tired, and must say no more than that†

I am your Honor's most obedient servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Conrad Weiser sent an express to William Parsons, who, it appears, was in Lebanon county, to take command of about one hundred men near the foot of the mountain in the Shamokin road. This was unmistakably in Bethel township, north of Millersburg, because the direct road from Tulpehocken to Shamokin was through Bethel. One-half of the men had no ammunition. Parsons ordered all to go over the mountain and erect a breastwork at the upper gap of the Swatara, and that those who had no powder and lead, should take axes. He then continues in a letter dated October 31, 1755: "I promised them to go to Tulpehocken, and provide powder and lead, and a sufficient quantity of lead to be sent immediately after them. But they went no further than to the top of the mountain, and there those that had ammunition, spent most of it in shooting up into the air, and then returned back again, firing all the way, to the great terror of all the inhabitants thereabout, and this was the case with almost all the others, being about 500 in different parts of the neighborhood; there was another company who came from the lower part of Bern township, as far as Mr. Freme's Manor. So that when I came to Tulpehocken I found the people there more alarmed than they were near the mountain. For when they saw me come alone they were overjoyed, having heard that we were all destroyed, and that the enemy were just at their backs, ready to destroy them. At Tulpehocken there was no lead to be had; all that could be had from Reading was taken to Pextang. I therefore sent an express over to Lancaster to Mr. Shippen that evening, desiring him to send me some lead. He sent me seven pounds, being all that the town people were willing to part with, as they were themselves under great apprehensions. I also procured 20 pounds of powder, papered up in one quarter pounds, and ordered out a quantity of bread near the mountains, but when I returned home I learned that my people had given over the pursuit, in the manner above men-

†Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 656-659.

tioned. I have since distributed a good deal of the powder and lead, and the bread I ordered to the poor people who are removing from their settlements on the other side of the mountain, from whence the people have been removing all this week. It is impossible to describe the confusion and distress of those unhappy people. Our roads are continually full of travellers. Those on the other side, of the men, women and children, most of them barefooted, have been obliged to cross those terrible mountains with what little they could bring with them in so long a journey through ways almost impassable, to get to the inhabitants on this side. While those who live on this side near the mountain are removing their effects to Tulpehocken. Those at Tulpehocken are removing to Reading, and many at Reading are moving nearer to Philadelphia, and some of them quite to Philadelphia. This is the present unhappy situation of Pennsylvania."*

The unnecessary waste of powder and lead to which Parsons refers in his letter, was in one respect very imprudent and in another worse than foolish, because it threw the people of Tulpehocken into indescribable fear, and wasted their ammunition which was almost exhausted. Seven pounds of lead and twenty pounds of powder would be insufficient for a company of one hundred men even in an insignificant skirmish, and much more so in a battle with the Indians.

Tulpehocken and Bethel.—The government was in as close a communication with its officers as it was possible to be in a time when telegraphs, railroads, and even fast horses were unknown, and in consequence of a want of better facilities for sending news rapidly it is evident that many persons were murdered in the county, of which no report was received, at least, none was kept. A few papers were published in Philadelphia during the French and Indian War, and contain some information not found in the records of the government. Had a paper been published in Reading at the time many important incidents that never reached Philadelphia would undoubtedly have been preserved, and would throw much light upon a part of our history, now enveloped in darkness.

The Pennsylvania Gazette of November 20, 1755, contains a very interesting article describing a number of shocking murders not mentioned by Weiser and Parsons. The article is a deposition taken in the city of Reading, and, being so near the scene of the tragedy, is sufficient evidence of the truthfulness of it.

"BERKS COUNTY, PENNSYLVANIA, ss:

Jacob Morgan, a captain in Col. Weiser's regiment, being sworn on the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God, doth depose and say, that on Sunday, the 16th November, 1755, at about five o'clock, p. m., he, the deponent, Mr. Philip Weiser and Mr. Peter Weiser, set out from Heidelberg towards Dietrich Six's, to get intelligence of the mischief done at Tolheo, or thereabouts, and to get a number of men to join them to go and seek for the persons scalped by the Indians; and to help in the best manner they could, the poor distressed inhabitants. That about nine miles from Mr. Weiser's they found a girl about six years old scalped, but yet alive, and a vast number of people there; but he knows not at whose house it was, nor the name of the child.

*Penna. Arch., vol 2, p. 443.

That at the request of the people there, Mr. Weiser's son and deponent, went back to Mr. Weiser's for powder and lead. That at or about two o'clock yesterday morning they were alarmed at Mr. Weiser's with an account that the Indians had beset George Dollinger's house, and his family were fled; whereupon Philip Weiser, and the deponent, and a person whose name deponent does not know, set off immediately, and at Christopher Weiser's overtook a large company, consisting of about one hundred men, and with them proceeded to George Dollinger's, and surrounded his house, where they found a good deal of damage done, and in the garden, a child about eight years old, daughter of one Cola, lying dead and scalped, which they buried.

That the whole company went on to a plantation of Abraham Sneider, and found in a corn-field the wife of Cola, and a child about eight or nine years old, both dead and scalped, and in the house they found another child of the said Cola's about ten years old, dead and scalped; but the deponent knows not of what sex either of these two children was. That while they were preparing the grave, they were alarmed by the firing of a gun, and flying to their arms, they went (a few staying to take care of the dead) to the place from whence the sound came, and about half a mile from the place they came from, they met the company, one of whom had indiscreetly discharged his musket, and then went back to bury the dead; on their return they found the scalp of a white person. That having buried the woman and children, they went to Thomas Bower's, in whose house they found a dead man, scalped, whose name the deponent thinks was Philip, by trade a shoemaker, but knows no more of him.

That the company increased fast, and were now about one hundred and thirty men, who marched on the Shamokin road to near Dietrich Six's; about half a mile from whose house they found Casper Spring dead and scalped, and having buried him, they marched about one hundred rods and found one Beslinger dead and scalped—they buried him. That at the same distance from Beslinger's they found an Indian man dead and scalped, which Indian, it was generally believed, was a Delaware. Mr. Frederick Weiser scalped him the day before.

That twenty of their body, who had gone a little out of the road, about two miles from Dietrich Six's, found (as the deponent and the rest of the company were informed, and as he believes without any doubt) a child of Jacob Wolf—he cannot say whether a boy or girl—which was scalped! Its age the deponent does not know, but the father carried it in his arms to be buried, as they were informed. That the deponent was informed by Mr. Frederick Weiser, that a company, with whom he had been the day before, had buried John Leinberger and Rudolph Candel, whom they found scalped.

That the deponent and company finding no more scalped or wounded, they returned, being then by the continual arrival of fresh persons, about three hundred men, to George Dollinger's. That Casper Spring's brains were beat out; had two cuts in his breast; was shot in his back, and otherwise cruelly used, which regard to decency forbids mentioning; and that Beslinger's brains were beat out, his mouth much mangled, one of his eyes cut out, and one of his ears gashed, and had two knives lying on his breast. That the whole country thereabouts desert their inhabitations,

and send away all their household goods. The horses and cattle are in the cornfields, and every thing in the utmost disorder, and the people quite despair. And further that he heard of much mischief done by burning houses and barns ; but not having been where it was reported to have been done, he chooses not to have any particulars thereof inserted in this deposition.

JAMES MORGAN.

Sworn at Reading, the 18th of November, 1755, before us.

JONAS SEELY,
HENRY HARRY.
JAMES READ.

Besides the persons mentioned in the above deposition, one Sebastian Brosius was murdered and scalped, whose scalp was brought to Philadelphia at the beginning of this week, having been taken from an Indian."[†]

Vicinity of Bethel.—On the 31st of October, "an inhabitant over the first mountain," brought the news that Henry Hartman had been murdered by the Indians—that he had gone to his house and "found him lying dead upon his face ; his head was scalped." William Parsons set out with twenty-five men the same day to go over the mountains to bury Hartman, but before they came to Hartman's house they met some men who said they had seen two men lying dead and scalped in the Shamokin road, about two or three miles from the place where they were. Parsons wrote: We altered our course, and went to the place and found the two men lying dead about 300 yards from each other and all the skin scalped off their heads. We got a grubbing hoe and spade from a settlement about half a mile from the place and dug a grave as well as we could, the ground being very stony, and buried them both in one grave without taking off their clothes, or examining at all into their wounds, only we saw a bullet had gone through the leg of one of them. I thought it best to bury them to prevent the bodies from being torn to pieces by wild beasts. One of the men had a daughter with him that is yet missing, and the other man had a wife and three or four children that are also missing.[‡] No mention was made afterwards of the missing ones, and they may have met the same fate.

The Indians had not committed any depredations and murders on this side of the mountains, but they were gradually approaching nearer. Messages were sent to Philadelphia almost daily, and the unfortunate state of affairs in that part of the county caused much alarm in Philadelphia, and was the result of a defeat of the army in the west, which could have been avoided, had the general taken the advice of one of his aids, who afterwards became the greatest hero that this great country boasts of.

Eventful Crisis.—Governor Morris in a message to the Council, November 3, 1755, said, "This invasion was what we had the greatest reason to believe would be the consequence of Gen. Braddock's defeat and the retreat of the regular troops, and had my hands been properly strengthened,

[†]Rupp's, p. 52.

[‡]Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 668.

I should have put this province into such a posture of defence as might have prevented the mischiefs that have since happened."

"It seems clear from the different accounts I have received that the French have gained to their interest the Delawares and Shawanese Indians under the ensnaring pretence of restoring them to their country, their intimate knowledge of which will make them dangerous enemies to the colonies in general, and to this in particular."§

Gen. Braddock came from England in February, 1755, to take command of the army against the French and Indians. Ignorant of the manner in which the Indians carried on their war, he gave his subordinate officers direction, when George Washington, who was then a little over twenty-three years of age, and conversant with the military tactics of the Indians, advised Braddock to pursue a different course. But Gen. Braddock occupied the highest position in the army, and could not deign to accept and follow the advice of one of his aids. Braddock carried out his plan, the Indians lying in ambush as prophesied by Washington, fired upon his men unexpectedly, routed them and wounded him mortally. With no obstacles in their way the Indians moved east, destroyed settlements, murdered families, carried away helpless women and children and subjected them to trials and sufferings, in comparison to which a blow with the tomahawk would have been acceptable. There is no room to doubt but that if Washington's counsel had been heeded, instead of the indescribable suffering among the people in the northern and north-western parts of the county, there would have been the profoundest peace, the greatest happiness and prosperity.

Want of Patriotism.—The people were threatened with the most cruel suffering, and yet, Conrad Weiser, with all his energy and perseverance, could not rally all who were able to bear arms and whom self-protection and a sense of honor and patriotism should have impelled to resist the incursions of the Indians, with all means in their power. Weiser wrote in one of his letters, November 2, 1755: "My son Peter came up this morning from Reading, at the head of about fifteen men, in order to accompany me over the hills. I shall let him go with the rest; had we but good regulations, with God's help we could stand at our places of abode, but if the people fail (which I am afraid they will, because some go, some won't, some mock, some plead religion, and a great number of cowards,) I shall think of mine and my family's preservation and quit my place, if I can get none to stand by me to defend my own house. But I hope you will excuse this hurry, I have no clerk now, and had no rest these several days nor nights hardly."*

Tulpehocken and Bethel.—Honored Sir: On my return from Philadelphia, I met in Amity township, Berks county, the first news of our cruel enemy having invaded the county this side of the Blue Mountains, to wit: Bethel and Tulpehocken. I left the papers as they were in the messenger's hands, and hastening to Reading, where the alarm and confusion was very great, I was obliged to stay that night and part of the next day, to wit, the 17th inst., and set out for Heidelberg, where I arrived that evening. Soon

§Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 671.

*Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 453.

after my sons, Philip and Frederick, arrived from the pursuit of the Indians, and gave me the following relation: That on last Saturday, about four o'clock in the afternoon, as some men from Tulpehocken were going to Dietrich Six's place, under the hills on the Shamokin road, to be on the watch appointed there, they were fired upon by the Indians, but none hurt nor killed (our people were but six in number, the rest being behind), upon which our people ran towards the watch-house, which was one-half of a mile off, and the Indians pursued them, and killed and scalped several of them. A bold, stout Indian came up to one Christopher Ury, who turned about and shot the Indian right through his breast. The Indian dropped down dead, but was dragged out of the way by his own companions, (he was ~~found~~ ^{found} next day and scalped by our people.) The Indians divided themselves into two parties. Some came this way, to meet the rest that were going to the watch, and killed some of them, so that six of our men were killed that day, and a few wounded. The night following the enemy attacked the house of Thomas Brown, on the Swatara creek. They came to the house in the dark night, and ~~one~~ of them put his fire-arm through the window and shot a shoemaker that was at work, dead on the spot. The people being extremely surprised at this sudden attack, defended themselves by firing out of the windows at the Indians. The fire alarmed a neighbor, who came with two or three more men. They fired by the way and made a great noise, scared the Indians away from Bower's house, after they had set fire to it, but by Thomas Bower's diligence and conduct, it was timely put out again. So Thomas Bower, with his family, went off that night to his neighbor, Daniel Schneider, who came to his assistance. By eight o'clock parties came up from Tulpehocken and Heidelberg. The first party saw four Indians running off. They had some prisoners, whom they scalped immediately; three children they scalped yet alive, one died since, the other two are likely to do well. Another party found a woman just expired, with a male child on her side, both killed and scalped; the woman lay upon her face; my son Frederick turned her about, to see who she might have been, and to his and his companions' surprise they found a babe about fourteen days old under her, wrapped up in a little cushion, his nose quite flat, which was set right by Frederick, and life was yet in it, and it recovered again. Our people came up with two parties of Indians that day, but they hardly got sight of them. The Indians ran off immediately. Either our people did not care to fight them, if they could avoid it, or (which is more likely), the Indians were alarmed first by the loud noise of our people's coming, because no order was observed. Upon the whole, there were fifteen of our people killed, including men, women and children, and the enemy not beat, but scared off. Several houses and barns are burned. I have no true account how many. We are in a dismal situation. Some of these murders have been committed in Tulpehocken township. The people left their plantations to within six or seven miles from the house. I am now busy putting things in order, to defend my house against another attack. Guns and ammunition are very much wanted here. My sons have been obliged to part with most of that which was sent up, for the use of the Indians. I pray your Honor will be pleased, if it is in your power, to send us up a quantity upon any condition. I must stand my ground, or my neighbors will all go away and leave their habitations to be destroyed by the enemy or our own people. This is enough of such melancholy

account for this time. I beg leave to conclude, who am, sir,
Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., November 19, 1755.

P. S.—I am creditably informed just now that one Wolff, a single man, killed an Indian at the same when Ury killed the other, bttt the body is not found yet. The poor young man since died of his wound through his belly.†
To Governor Morris.

MAY IT PLEASE THE GOVERNOR: That night after my arrival from Philadelphia, Emanuel Carpenter and Simon Adam Kuhn, Esqrs., came to my house and lodged with me. They acquainted me that a meeting was appointed (of the people of Tulpehocken, Heidelberg, and adjacent places) in Tulpehocken township, at Benjamin Spicker's, early next morning. I made all the haste with the Indians I could, and gave them a letter to Thomas McKee, to furnish them with necessaries for their journey. Scarujade had no creature to ride on. I gave him one. Before I could get done with the Indians, three or four men came from Benjamin Spicker's to warn the Indians not to go that way, for the people were so enraged against all the Indians, and would kill them without distinction. I went with them, as also the gentlemen before named. When we came near Benjamin Spicker's I saw about four or five hundred men, and there was a loud noise. I rode before, and in riding along the road (and armed men on both sides of the road), I heard some say, Why must we be killed by the Indians and we not kill them? Why are our hands so tied? I got the Indians to the house with much ado, when I treated them with a small dram, and so parted with them in love and friendship. Captain Dieffenbach undertook to conduct them (with five other men), to the Susquehanna. After this, a sort of a council of war was held by the officers present, the gentlemen before named and other freeholders. It was agreed that 150 men should be raised immediately, to serve as out scouts, and as guards at certain places under the Kittatinny Hills for 40 days. That those so raised to have two shillings per day, and two pounds of bread, two pounds of beef and a gill of rum, and powder and lead. Arms they must find themselves. This scheme was signed by a good many freeholders and read to the people. They cried out that so much for an Indian scalp they would have (be they friends or enemies) from the Governor. I told them I had no such power from the Governor or assembly. They began, some to curse the Governor; some the assembly; called me a traitor to the country, who held with the Indians, and must have known this murder beforehand. I sat in the house at a low window. Some of my friends came to pull me away from it, telling me that some of the people threatened to shoot me. I offered to go out to the people and either pacify them or make the King's proclamation. But those in the house with me would not let me go out. The cry was: *The land was betrayed and sold.* The common people from Lancaster county were the worst. The wages, they said, were a trifle, and said somebody pocketed the rest, and they would resent it. Somebody has put it into their heads that I had it in my power to give as much as I pleased. I was in danger of being shot to death. In the meantime a great smoke arose under the Tulpehocken

†Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 503.

Mountain, with the news following that the Indians had committed murder on Mill creek (a false alarm) and set fire to a barn. Most of the people ran, and those that had horses rode off without any order or regulation. I then took my horse and went home, where I intended to stay and defend my own house as long as I could. There is no doings with the people without a law or regulation by Governor and Assembly. The people of Tulpehocken have all fled; till about six or seven miles from me some few remain. Another such attack will lay all the country waste on the west side of the Schuylkill. I am, sir, †

Your most obedient.

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks county, Nov. 19, 1755.

The following letter from Peter Spicker, written in Stouchsburg, to Conrad Weiser, who was in Philadelphia seeking aid from the government, describes the desolate condition of Tulpehocken and Bethel :

CONRAD WEISER, Esq.

TULPEHOCKEN, Nov. 16, 1755.

John Anspack and Frederick Read came to me and told me the miserable circumstances of the people murdered this side of the mountain yesterday. The Indians attacked the watch, killed and wounded him at Dietrich Six's, and in that neighborhood, a great many in that night. This morning our people went out to see; came about ten o'clock in the morning to Thomas Bower's house, finding a man dead, killed with a gun-shot. Soon we heard a firing of guns; running to that place and found four Indians sitting on children scalping; three of the children are dead; two are alive; the scalps are taken off; hereafter we went to the watch-house of Dietrich Six, where the Indians first attacked, finding six dead bodies, four of them scalped; about a mile this side of the watch-house as we went back the Indians set fire to a stable and barn, where they burned the corn, cows and other creatures, where we found seven Indians, five in the house eating their dinner and drinking rum which was in the house, and two outside the house; we fired to them but in vain; the Indians burned four plantations more than the above account told me. Peter Anspack, Jacob Caderman, Christopher Noacre, Leonard Walborn, told me in the same manner; George Dollinger and Adam Dieffenbach sent me word in the same manner.

Now we are in a great danger to lose our lives or estates, pray, therefore, for help, or else whole Tulpehocken will be ruined by the Indians in a short time, and all buildings will be burned down and the people scalped, therefore you will do all haste to get people together to assist us. The Assembly can see by this work how good and fine friends the Indians are to us, we hope their eyes will go open and their hearts tender to us, and the Governor's the same, if they are true subjects to our King George the Second of Great Britain, or are willing to deliver us into the hands of these miserable creatures.

I am your friend,

PETER SPICKER.

N. B.—The people are fled to us from the hills. Peter Kryger and John Weiser are the last.

†Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 504.

The following letter,* written by Edward Biddle, of Reading, to his father in Philadelphia, expresses the perturbed state of feeling in the city of Reading. There is no date attached to it, but it is supposed to have been written on the 16th of November:

MY DEAREST FATHER—I am in so much horror and confusion, I scarcely know what I am writing. The drum is beating to arms, and bells ringing and all the people under arms. Within these two hours we have had different though too certain accounts all corroborating each other, and this moment is an express arrived, dispatched by Michael Reis, at Tulpehocken, eighteen miles above this town, who left about thirty of their people engaged with about an equal number of Indians at the said Reis'. This night we expect an attack; truly alarming is our situation. The people exclaim against the Quakers, and some are scarcely restrained from burning the houses of those few who are in this town. Oh, my country! my bleeding country! I commend myself to the divine God of armies. Give my dutiful love to my dearest mother, and my best love to brother Jemmy.

I am, honored sir, you most affectionate and obedient son,

E. BIDDLE.

Sunday, 1 o'clock. I have rather lessened than exaggerated our melancholy account.

Address to Governor Morris, November 24, 1755:

HONORED SIR—We, the subscribers hereof, being met together to think on means to withstand our cruel enemy, thought fit to acquaint your honor of the miserable condition the back inhabitants of these parts are in:

First—Since the last cruel murder committed by the enemy, most of the people of Tulpehocken have left their habitation; those in Heidelberg moved their effects; Bethel township is entirely deserted.

Second—There is no order among the people; one cries one thing, and another another thing. They want to force us to make a law, that they should have a reward for every Indian which they kill; they demand such a law of us, with their guns cocked, pointing it towards us.

Third—The people are so incensed, not only against our cruel enemy the andians, but also (we beg leave to inform your Honor) against the Governor and Assembly, that we are afraid they will go down in a body to Philadelphia and commit the vilest outrages. They say they will rather be hanged than to be butchered by the Indians, as some of their neighbors have been lately, and the poverty that some are in is very great.

Fourth—Yesterday we sent out about seventy men to the mountains to take possession of several houses, and to range the woods along the mountain in Berks county, on the west side of Schuylkill. The same number are sent to the back part of Lancaster county, we promised them two shillings per day, two pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and a gill of rum a day, and ammunition, and that for forty days, or till we shall receive your Honor's order. We persuade ourselves your Honor will not leave us in the lurch; we must have done such a thing or else leave our habitation, if no worse; and all this would not do, we and others of the freeholders have been obliged to promise them a reward of four pistoles for every enemy Indian man that they should

*Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 705.

kill. Many things more we could mention, but we don't care to trouble your Honor any farther, do therefore conclude, and beg leave to subscribe for ourselves,

Honored Sir, your very humble servants,

CONRAD WEISER,
EMANUEL CARPENTER,
ADAM SIMON RUHM.

P. S.—I cannot forbear to acquaint your Honor of a certain circumstance of the late unhappy affair: One — Kobel, with his wife and eight children, the eldest about fourteen years and the youngest fourteen days, was flying before the enemy, he carrying one, and his wife a boy, another of the children, when they were fired upon by two Indians very nigh, but hit only the man upon his breast, though not dangerously. They the Indians, then came with their tomahawks, knocked the woman down, but not dead. They intended to kill the man, but his gun (though out of order, so that he could not fire) kept them off. The woman recovered so far, and seated herself upon a stump, with her babe in her arms, and gave it suck; and the Indians driving the children together, and spoke to them in high Dutch, *be still, we won't hurt you*. Then they struck a hatchet into the woman's head, and she fell upon her face with her babe under her, and the Indian trod on her neck and tore off the scalp. The children then ran: four of them were scalped, among which was a girl of eleven years of age, who related the whole story; of the scalped, two are alive and like to do well. The rest of the children ran into the bushes and the Indians after them, but our people coming near to them, and halloed and made a noise. The Indians ran and the rest of the children were saved. They ran within a yard by a woman that lay behind an old log, with two children; there were about seven or eight of the enemy.**

I am, Honored Sir, Your obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Fear at Reading.—The Indians continued to move onward gradually and many of the settlers retreated in time to escape with their lives while the others lingered until they were overtaken and murdered. Thus far the Indians had not come far on this side of the Blue Mountains, though by their barbarity they had so terrified the people in the north-western section of the county, that it was almost entirely deserted at this time, and had so affected the city of Reading that Conrad Weiser wrote from Reading, December 13, 1755, that "the people of this town and county are in very great consternation. Most of this town are but day-laborers, and owing money, are about to leave it, they have nothing at all wherewith to support their families. All trade is stopped, and they can get no employment, and unless the government takes about thirty or forty of them into pay to guard this town, they must go off and the rest will think themselves unsafe to stay, and the back inhabitants will have no place of security left for their wives and children, when they are out either against their enemy, or taking care of their plantations and cattle, and when things should come to extremity. I have signed a recommendation for a captain's commission to John Leshar in Oley."†

Gov. Morris in Reading.—The continued depredations and massacres

**Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 512.

†Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 760.

committed by the Indians had so alarmed the civil authorities of the State that Governor Morris came to Reading and wrote a letter to the Provincial Council on January 1, 1756, giving a report of the military force along the frontier and also his views in regard to the most effectual measures to be taken to subdue the Indians.

Robert Strettell, a member of Council, wrote to the Governor while he was in Reading, that, "as the main body of the Indians seem to lie and have their head-quarters on the borders of Northampton and Berks counties, and to be making their grand push for gaining the possession of that hilly, broken country so thinly settled, and full of thick swamps and places best adapted for their purposes of securely sheltering themselves and annoying us to the greatest advantage, we conceive that your Honor will order some of them immediately into these parts; but that we submit to your better judgment and direction."†

The government acted entirely on the defensive. It did not pursue the Indians to their towns to lay them in ashes and murder their women and children, but "at a meeting of the Board of the Commissioners for the laying out of sixty thousand pounds for the use of the King" held April 9, 1756, they proposed to the Governor that he should offer "for the scalp of every male Indian of above ten years old \$130, and for the scalp of every Indian woman \$50."§

When the Governor was in Reading, almost on the theater of these cold-blooded massacres, and had become more fully acquainted with the horrors of Indian warfare, he became convinced that the policy, hitherto pursued, of merely defending themselves against the Indians, was provoking them to commit greater cruelties rather than to appease their minds to desist from making their inroads into the county, which kept the people in a state of constant fear.

After the Governor had made all the observations he desired, in the vicinity of Reading, he went to Carlisle, from which place he wrote to the Council, January 20th, that a company of Regulars had arrived from New York, and "when I was at Reading I consulted with the members of the Council and Commissioners in what manner these troops might be disposed of as most effectually to contribute to the defense of the province, and they advised me to put the Independents at the town of Easton, in the county of Northampton, and the Grenadiers at the town of Reading, in the county of Berks, where quarters will be provided for them."|| Captain Jocelyn was commanded to carry out this order. Their rations were "three pounds of pork, three pounds of beef, one pound of fish and ten pounds and a half of bread or meal per week, and one gill of rum per day."

Governor Morris returned again to Reading on the twenty-sixth of January, and gave various orders to Conrad Weiser and the commanders of the forts along the northern border to prepare for a more active defense against the Indians. There is nothing mentioned about Fort Northkill for over a year, and no disturbances took place there during that time. It is probable that the fort had been abandoned and had gone to ruin, because the Governor in his orders to Captain Morgan, "posted at a fort in the forks of the Schuylkill" says: "You are, as soon as possible, to march with a detachment of thirty men

†Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 773.

§Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 619.

||Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 774.

of your company to some convenient place about half-way between Fort Lebanon and Fort ———, at the gap of Tolehaio, (Swatara) where you are to erect a stuccado fort of the form and dimensions given.”¶ Fort Northkill was midway between the Schuylkill and the Swatara Gap, and is known to have been rebuilt though not on precisely the same place.

Albany.—Valentine Probst, who lived in Albany township, in the vicinity of Wessnersville, wrote to Jacob Levan, in Maxatawny :

FEBRUARY 15, 1756.

MR. LEVAN—I cannot omit writing about the dreadful circumstances in our township, Albany. The Indians came yesterday morning about eight o'clock, to Frederick Reichelderfer's house, as he was feeding his horses, and two of the Indians ran upon him, and followed him into a field ten or twelve perches off; but he escaped and ran toward Jacob Gerhard's house, with a design to fetch some arms. When he came near Gerhard's he heard a lamentable cry, Lord Jesus! Lord Jesus!—which made him run back toward his own house; but before he got quite home, he saw his house and stable in flames; and heard the cattle bellowing, and thereupon ran away again.

Two of his children were shot; one of them was found dead in his field, the other was found alive and brought to Hakenbrook's house, but died three hours after. All his grain and cattle are burned up. At Jacob Gerhart's they have killed one man, two women and six children. Two children slipped under the bed; one of which was burned; the other escaped, and ran a mile to get to the people. We desire help, or we must leave our homes.*

Yours,

VALENTINE PROBST.

The following pathetic description of the murder of Reichelderfer's family is from the pen of the Patriarch Muhlenberg :

“In New Hanover (Mont. Co.) I had confirmed two grown daughters of Frederick Reichelsdorfer. This man subsequently bought a tract of forest land near the Blue Mountains, which he cultivated successfully, with much toil and great sacrifice, to enable him to support his family. But fearing the Indians, who scouted the region, sacking, burning, and murdering, he removed his family back to New Hanover, whilst he journeyed to and fro, to attend to his place. In the month of March, after he and his daughters had threshed out his wheat, on a Friday morning, they suddenly felt an uncomfortable presentiment of fear. Entering upon their evening devotions, they joined in singing the old hymn, ‘*Wer weiz, wie nahe mir mein Ende.*’ Committing themselves to God, they retired. On the following Saturday morning, as the father had gone upon the open field to bring in his horses, and on the eve of starting for home, he was surrounded by Indians. From sudden fright, in view of his great peril, he could neither utter a cry, nor move a limb. As the savages were within twenty paces, he turned his thoughts to God, and was enabled to cry : ‘Jesus! I live by Thee! Jesus! I die in Thee!’ In the moment of this exclamation, he felt himself at once endowed with a superhuman energy, in virtue of which he turned, became swift-footed as a deer, and winged, like the ostrich. He escaped from their sight, and reached his home; but, alas! his hut lay in ashes; the cattle were bellowing in a

¶Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 555.

*Rupp's History of Berks, p. 58.

sheet of flame ; his eldest daughter lay a crisp, and the younger, partly alive, scalped and horribly mutilated, had barely strength to relate the harrowing circumstances, and to impress a dying kiss upon the distracted brow of her father bending over her."**

Mr. Levan, in a letter to James Read and Jonas Seely, of Reading, says : " When I had got ready to go with my neighbors from Maxatawny, to see what damage was done in Albany, three men that had seen the shocking affair, came and told me that eleven were killed, eight of them were burned, and the other three men found dead out of the fire. An old man was scalped, the two others, little girls, were not scalped."**

The Gerhart murder was committed on the farm now owned by George Bolich, in the extreme northwestern part of Albany township. I, in company with Mr. W. H. Grim, of Hamburg, visited Mr. Bolich November 19, 1879, and heard him relate this murder as it was handed down by tradition, which agrees in many particulars with the preceding account given by Valentine Probst. A house was built upon the spot where the house stood in which the Gerhart family was burned. This antiquated building, bearing date 1755, was demolished by Mr. Bolich in 1875, and a very handsome dwelling was erected in its stead. There is an error of one year in the date of the house, and this may have occurred in one of two ways. The date may have been put on the building some years after its erection, and by a man who was not thoroughly posted in dates, or the date might have been partly effaced, and replaced more recently when the figures could not be deciphered with certainty.

Mr. Bolich says that the account given by the old people in Albany, is that while the whole family was in the house, quietly enjoying the comforts of a rural home in the wilderness of Albany in the month of February, an unusual noise was heard in the vicinity of the house. Nothing was known of the presence of the Indians or of any other person, until they heard a suspicious noise which excited their fears at once that a sad fate was awaiting them. Mr. Gerhart, solicitous about the safety of his beloved family, opened the door and peeped out but saw no one. He quietly stepped outside of the door to make a closer inspection of his premises, when a concealed Indian shot him and he fell dead at the door. The women dragged Mr. Gerhart into the house. The Indians knowing that the head of the family was killed, had less to fear, approached the house and set it on fire. The women and children knew that a horrible death was staring them in the face—that they must either be burned alive or leave the house and submit to a death fully as revolting. They chose the first alternative. A boy of about twelve years of age, whose hair had already been burned off his head, and had seen suffering among his mother, little brothers and sisters, which no pen or human tongue can portray, jumped out of a window on a side of the house opposite the Indians. He ran to a family over a small hill south of this place to give the alarm, but when assistance came the house was consumed by the flames and the Indians had made their escape. It makes the heart of a civilized man shudder to think that men have been burned at the stake for real or imaginary offences, but the burning of a family circle of innocent women and children alive, is horrible

**Dr. Weiser's Life of Conrad Weiser, p. 404.

* *Rupp's History of Berks, p. 58.

enough to chill the blood of a misanthrope.

This attack again so alarmed the settlers that some of them moved further south to places of greater security. The Pennsylvania Gazette of April 1, 1756, says that on the twenty-fourth of March, 1756, "ten wagons went up to Allemaengel to bring down a family with their effects; and as they were returning, about three miles below George Ziesloff's, were fired upon by a number of Indians from both sides of the roads, upon which the wagoners left their wagons and ran into the woods, and the horses frightened at the firing and terrible yelling of the Indians, ran down the hill and broke one of the wagons to pieces. That the enemy killed George Ziesloff and his wife, a lad of twenty, a boy of twelve, also a girl of fourteen years old, four of whom they scalped. That another girl was shot in the neck, and through the mouth and scalped, notwithstanding all this she got off. That a boy was stabbed in three places, but the wounds were not thought to be mortal. That they killed two of the horses and five are missing with which it is thought the Indians carried off the most valuable goods that were in the wagons."†

In March, 1756, the Indians burned the house and barn of Barnabas Seitel and the mill of Peter Conrad, killed Balser Neytong's wife and took a son eight years of age captive. Captain Morgan sent seven men in pursuit, but they failed to overtake the Indians.

"On the 24th of March, the house of Peter Kluck, about fourteen miles from Reading, was set on fire by the savages and the whole family killed; while the flames were still ascending, the Indians assaulted the house of one Linderman, in which there were two men and a woman, all of whom ran up stairs, where the woman was shot dead through the roof. The men then ran out of the house to engage the Indians, when Linderman was shot in the neck and the other through the jacket. Upon this Linderman ran towards the Indians, two of whom only were seen, and shot one of them in the back, when he fled and he and his companion scalped him and brought away his gun and knife."‡ This information is obtained from a German paper published in Philadelphia by C. Sauer, during the time of the troubles with the Indians.

The report of the preceding massacres is not definite, with regard to the locality, but it is very probable that they occurred within the limits of Albany.

Sauer, in one of his papers, after giving a description of the murder of the Ziesloff family, says, "at the same time the Indians carried off a young lad, named John Shoep, about nine years old, whom they took by night seven miles beyond the Blue Mountains; but where, according to the lad, the Indians kindled a fire, tied him to a tree, and took off his shoes and put moccasins on his feet, that they prepared themselves some mush but gave him none. After supper they marched on further. The same Indians took him and another lad between them, and went beyond the second mountain; having gone six times through streams of water, and always carried him across. The second evening they again struck up fire, took off his moccasins, and gave him a blanket to cover himself; but at midnight when all the Indians were fast asleep, he made his escape and at daybreak had traveled about six miles. He passed on that day, sometimes wading streams neck deep, in the direction of the Blue

†Rupp's History of Berks, p. 123.

‡Rupp's History of Berks, p. 59.

Mountains—that night he staid in the woods. The next day, exhausted and hungry, he arrived by noon at Uly Meyer's plantation, where Charles Folk's company lay, where they wished him to remain till he had regained strength, when they would have conducted him to his father. He was accordingly sent home.”§

Hereford.—The lower parts of the county were disturbed very little by the Indians. They would not in their marauding expeditions go any distance into a country settled by the white people where it might be possible to intercept their retreat. In March, 1756, they ventured as far south as Hereford, and this is the only instance on record of Indian disturbances in the lower part of the county during the French and Indian War. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* says, “that on the 22d of that month (March) one John Krausher, and his wife and William Yeth, and his boy about twelve years old, went to their place to find their cattle, and on their return were fired upon by five Indians, who had hid themselves about ten perches from the road, when Yeth was mortally wounded in the back; Krausher's wife was found dead and scalped, and had three cuts in her right arm with a tomahawk. Krausher made his escape and the boy was carried off by the enemy.”||

Lieut. Spearing, who commanded the N. Y. regulars, stationed at Reading, left this place in the early part of May, 1756.

Forts.—In June, 1756, James Young, “commissary general of ye musters,” was sent “to examine into the state and condition of the forts, arms, ammunition, provisions, blankets, accoutrements, tools and other stock and things belonging to his majesty or the province,” and give an exact account and report of them to the Governor. He rendered his report July 2, 1756. Since it is impossible to abridge the report and give the whole substance, it will be best to quote that part of the journal¶ which relates to the forts of Berks county, to show what means the people had to defend themselves:

READING, June 19.—At 11 o'clock in the morning I came to Reading. I sent an express to Lieut.-Col. Weiser, to acquaint him of my intended journey to the northern frontier, that I inclined to muster the company here, and that I should want some men to escort me to the next fort. Ammunition at Reading, 25 good muskets, 25 muskets want repairs, 11 broken muskets, 9 cartouch boxes, 250 pounds of powder and 600 pounds of lead.

At 6 P. M. Col. Weiser came here, I mustered his company that is posted for a guard to this place. They consist of 30 men, viz: two sergeants and twenty-eight private soldiers; two of them were absent at Col. Weiser's house.

FORT NORTHKILL.—June 20, at 2 P. M. I set out from Reading, escorted by five men of the town, on horseback, for the Fort at Northkill; at half-past 6 we came to the fort, it is about 19 miles from Reading, the road very hilly and thick of woods. When I came here the Sergeant, who is commander, was absent and gone to the next plantation, half a mile off, but soon came when he had intelligence I was there; he told me he had 14 men posted with him, all detached from Captain Morgan's company, at Fort Lebanon, five of them were absent by his leave, viz., two he had let go to Reading for three days, one he

§Rupp's History of Berks, p. 61.

||Rupp's History of Berks, p. 60.

¶Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 675-677.

had let go to his own house, ten miles off, and two more this afternoon, a few miles from the fort, on their own business; there were but eight men and the Sergeant on duty. I am of opinion there ought to be a commissioned officer here, as the Sergeant does not do his duty, nor are the men under proper command for want of a superior officer; the woods are not cleared above forty yards from the fort; I gave orders to cut all down for two hundred yards; I inquired the reason there was so little powder and lead here, the Sergeant told me he had repeatedly requested more of Captain Morgan, but to no purpose. Provisions here, flour and rum, for four weeks; Mr. Seely, of Reading, sends the officer money to purchase meal as they want it. Provincial arms and ammunition at Northkill Fort, viz., eight good muskets, four rounds of powder and lead, per man, fifteen blankets and three axes.

June 21.—At eight o'clock, A. M., Captain Busse, from Fort Henry, came here with eight men on horse back, he expected to meet Conrad Weiser here, in order to proceed to the several forts on the northern frontier, but Colonel Weiser wrote him that other business prevented him, and desired Captain Busse to proceed with me, and return him an account how he found the forts, with the quantity of ammunition and stores in each, of which I was very glad, as the escort on horse back would expedite our journey very much, and be much safer.

FORT LEBANON.—Accordingly, we set out for Fort Lebanon; all the way from Northkill to Lebanon, is an exceedingly bad road, very stony and mountainous. About six miles from Northkill, we crossed the North Mountain, where we met Captain Morgan's lieutenant with ten men, ranging the woods between the mountains and Fort Lebanon; we passed two plantations, the rest of the country is chiefly barren hills; at noon we came to Fort Lebanon, which is situated in a plain; on one side is a plantation, on the other a barren, pretty clear of woods all round, only a few trees about fifty yards from the fort, which I desired might be cut down. This fort is a square of about one hundred feet, well stockaded with good bastions, on one of which is a good wall piece, within is a good guard house for the people, and two other large houses built by the country people who have taken refuge here, in all sixty families. The fort is a little too much crowded on that account; I acquainted Captain Morgan that the Sergeant at Northkill did not do his duty, and I believed it would be for the good of the service to have a commanding officer there, on which he ordered his Lieutenant, with two men, to go and take post there, and sent with him four pounds of powder and ten pounds of lead. Provincial arms and ammunition: 28 good muskets, 10 wanting repair, 9 rounds of powder and lead, 4 pounds of powder, 24 pounds of lead, 30 cartridge boxes, 40 blankets, 1 axe, 1 wall piece.

By Captain Morgan's journal, it appears he sends a party to range the woods four or five times a week, and guard the inhabitants at their labor. At 1 P. M. I mustered the people and examined the certificates of enlistments which appear in the muster roll, after which I ordered the men to fire at a mark, 15 of 28 hit within two feet of the centre, and at the distance of 80 yards. Provisions here: flour and rum for a month; the commissary sends them money to purchase meal as they want it.

FORT ABOVE ALLEMINGA (Albany).—At one-half past three P. M. we set out with the former escort and two of Captain Morgan's company for the fort

above Alleminga, commanded by Lieutenant Engle. Provincial stores: 28 good muskets, 8 wanting repair, 16 cartouch boxes, 8 pounds of powder, 24 pounds of lead, and 12 rounds for 36 men, 36 blankets, 1 axe, 1 adz, 1 auger, 2 planes, 1 hammer, 2 shovels, 9 small tin kettles.

June 22 —At 6 A. M. I ordered the people to fire at a mark ; not above 4 in 25 hit the tree at the distance of 85 yards ; at 7, mustered them, found 25 present, 2 sick, 2 absent on furlough, 2 sent to Reading with a prisoner, and 5 at Fort Allen on duty. Provisions, one cask of beef, exceedingly bad, flour and rum for three weeks.

Bethel.—"The editor of the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of June 24, 1756, says : We have advices from Fort Henry, in Berks county, that two children of one Lawrence Dieppel, who lives about two miles from said fort, are missing and thought to be carried off by the Indians, as one of their hats has been found, and several Indian tracks seen. In relation to this statement, the editor says in the first of July number—We learn that one of Lawrence Dieppel's children, mentioned in our last to be carried off, has been found cruelly murdered and scalped, a boy about four years old, and that the other, also a boy, eight years old, was still missing."*

Soldiers Protect the Farmers.—In the beginning of July Captain Morgan received instruction from Colonel Weiser, by the authority of Governor Morris, that he should distribute some of his company along the mountains to protect the farmers while they were reaping their grain and storing it away. In order that this agricultural work might be performed with safety, "six men were to range from the little fort on Northkill, westward to Emerich's and stay there if the people unite to work together in their harvest, six men to range eastward on the same footing, eight men to stay in that fort, fifteen men are to stay in Fort Lebanon, eight men to protect the people over the hill in harvest time, ten men to range constantly eastward or westward, and if the people return to their plantations thereabouts, to protect those first that join together to do their work."†

Treaty at Easton.—During the war there were messengers sent by the Governor to the chiefs of the Indians, and the Indians sent representatives of their tribes to Philadelphia or some place midway between Philadelphia and the council fires of the Indians. One of the most important treaties or conferences held since the commencement of the war, was held at Easton in the latter part of July, 1756. Teedyuscung, with fourteen other chiefs, was present, and said he was an ambassador appointed by ten nations, and authorized to treat with the Governor of Pennsylvania. In attempting to palliate the breach of former treaties and the numerous massacres of settlers upon lands bought of them, he assured the Governor that the "present clouds" owe their origin to the custom of their ancestors of having a "multitude of Kings." He made strong professions of friendship, deplored the hostile feelings between the white people and the Indians, and said that all the harm inflicted upon the white people was done by the French Indians living on the Ohio. After they had "dined" with the Governor, had fared well at the expense of the government for a week, and received a large quantity of presents, they took "some of that

*Rupp's History of Berks, p. 62.

†Penna. Archives, vol. 2, p. 696.

good tobacco that the Six Nations put into our pipe," and all parties smoked the pipe in turn, and according to their custom a lasting peace and friendship should have been established, but the fumes and odor of "that good tobacco" had scarcely disappeared when the Indians again fell upon the settlements of Berks, burned their buildings and cattle, lurked behind the thickets and shot men at work in their fields, and scalped women and children alive, and captured others, many of whom were subjected to great hardships and cruel sufferings.

Letter from Colonel Weiser to Governor Denny :

HONORED SIR :—Last night about 10 o'clock I received the melancholy news that the enemy Indians had again made an invasion in Berks county, and killed and scalped two married women, and a lad of fourteen years of age, and wounded two children of about four years old, and carried off two more; one of the wounded is scalped and like to die, and the other has two cuts on her forehead, given her by an Indian boy, in order to scalp her, but did not, there being eight men of Fort Henry posted in two different neighbors' houses, about one and a half miles off; when they heard the noise of the guns firing they made towards it, but came too late.

The people are moving away, leaving their barns full of grain behind them; and there is a lamentable cry among them. It is with submission a very hard case, that so many men are taken away to protect Shamokin (a wilderness), and the inhabited part be without it. I have ordered eighteen men out of the town guard of Reading to re-enforce Fort Henry immediately, of which I hope your honor will approve.† * * * *

I am, Honored Sir, Your very obedient,

CONRAD WEISER.

Heidelberg, Berks Co., October 19, 1756.

Tulpehocken, now Stouchsburg.—Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz, pastor of the Lutheran church near Stouchsburg, in Marion township, wrote to Rev. Melchoir Muhlenberg, of New Hanover, Mont. Co., July 5, 1757, that on the morning of the day seven persons—three men and four children—who had been murdered and scalped in one house by the Indians, were buried there. The names of the parties are not given.

Fort Northkill.—The following letter from Lieutenant Humphreys, commander of the fort, to Colonel Weiser, shows that the government did not keep a garrison in the fort sufficient to protect the people within a mile of the fort, and that the farmers found the Indians too numerous to battle with them:

FORT ABOVE NORTHKILL, November 14, 1756.

MAY IT PLEASE THE COLONEL :—Yesterday we were alarmed by a number of Indians who came and took a child away. Immediately upon hearing the news, I, with nine men, went in pursuit of them, leaving a number of farmers to guard the fort till we should return. But we found nothing till this morning, we went out again; and, in our return to the fort, we were apprized of them by the firing of several guns; when I ordered my men to make what speed they could. We ran till we were almost out of breath, and, upon finding Nicholas Long's house attacked by the Indians, the farmers who were with us to the number of twenty, deserted and fled, leaving the soldiers to

fight. We stood in battle with them for several minutes till there were about sixty guns discharged, and at length we put the Indians to flight.

We have one man wounded, and my coat was shot through in four places. The number of the Indians was twenty. Our number at first was twenty-four. But they all deserted and fled except seven. Two old men were killed before we came, one of whom was scalped. Ten women and children were in the cellar and the house was on fire; but we extinguished it and brought the women and children to the fort. I desire the Colonel to send me a reinforcement, for the men solemnly say they will not go out with the farmers, as they deserted in the battle and never fired a gun. The Indians cried the halloo during the battle.

We have one of their guns and a blanket which had two holes with a bullet in it, and is bloody. The Indians had all red hats and red blankets.

Sir: This in distress (wanting a reinforcement) from yours to command,

SAMUEL HUMPHREYS.

Albany.—On the same day a party of Indians committed depredations on the east side of the Schuylkill. No particular locality is named, but the distance from Fort Lebanon points out Albany as the scene. Jacob Morgan, commander of Fort Lebanon, wrote to Governor Denny, November 4, 1756: "Yesterday morning at break of day, one of the neighbors discovered a fire at a distance from him; he went to the top of another mountain to take a better observation, and made a full discovery of the fire, and supposed it to be about seven miles off, at the house of John Fincher; he came and informed me of it; I immediately detached a party of ten men (we being about 22 men in the fort) to the place where they saw the fire, at the said Fincher's house, it being nigh Schuylkill, and the men anxious to see the enemy, if there, they ran through the water and the bushes to the fire, where to their disappointment they saw none of them, but the house, barn, and other out houses all in flames, together with a considerable amount of corn; they saw a great many tracks and followed them, and came back to the house of Philip Culmore, thinking to send from thence to alarm the other inhabitants to be on their guard, but instead of that found the said Culmore's wife and daughter and son-in-law all just killed and scalped; there is likewise missing out of the same house Martin Fell's wife and child about one year old, and another boy about seven years of age, the said Martin Fell was he that was killed, it was just done when the scouts came there, and they seeing the scouts ran off. The scouts divided in two parties, one to some other houses nigh at hand, and the other to the fort, (it being within a mile of the fort) to inform me. I immediately went out with the scout again, (and left in the fort no more than six men) but could not make any discovery, but brought all the families to the fort, where now I believe there are upward of sixty women and children that are fled here for refuge."*

The Indians made their appearance again in Albany township in November, 1756, and carried off the wife and three children of Adam Burns. The youngest child was only four weeks old.

"On Sunday evening, the 28th of November, 1756, three Indians came to the house of a certain man named Schlosser, in Allemangel, and knocked at

*Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 30.

the door ; the people within called who is there. Answer was made, a good friend ; they within not opening the door, they knocked again ; they within asked who is there ; no answer being made from without, then one of the men named Stonebrook looked out of the window, when an Indian discharged a gun and killed him on the spot. They then opened the door, the woman and two children endeavored to escape, and the Indians pursued and took both the children. One of the men fired at the Indians and saw one of them fall, when one of the girls he had possession of made her escape from him, but the other they took away. The Indian that was fired at and fell, cried out very much, but in a short time he got up and made off."**

For nearly six months there was no disturbance in the county. The first murder that occurred in 1757 was that of a boy who "was killed and scalped on the borders of Berks county, and another dangerously wounded, who made his escape and declared he saw but two Indians."* *

Bethel.—Peter Gersinger was shot and scalped about the middle of June, 1757, while plowing in a field. The place of this murder is not named, but the report of it seems to point to Bethel.

Albany.—The government had discussed the propriety of moving Fort Franklin south of the Blue Mountains, and a "considerable way into Albany township." When this report reached the ears of the people, a petition, signed by "all the inhabitants of Berks county within four miles of and about Fort Franklin, over the Blue Mountains, was sent to the council in Philadelphia, asking that the fort should be rebuilt on the old site, otherwise their lives and property would be in danger and they would be obliged to desert their plantations and would become a burden to the inhabitants on the south of the mountains."†

READING, June 25, 1757.

Last night Jacob Levan, Esq., of Maxatawny, came to see me, and showed me a letter of the 22d inst., from Lieut. Engel, dated in Allemangel, by which he advised Mr. Levan of the murder of one Adam Trump, in Allemangel, by Indians that evening, and that they had taken Trump's wife and his son, a lad of nineteen years old, prisoners ; but the woman escaped, though upon her flying she was so closely pursued by one of the Indians, (of which there were seven) that he threw his tomahawk at her, and cut her badly in the neck, but 'tis hoped not dangerously. This murder happened in as great a thunder storm as as happened for twenty years past ; which extended itself over a great part of this and Northampton counties—for I found much mischief done, as I came from Easton, Northampton county, to this town, the length of fifty-two miles—the day before yesterday, and which I hear has broken down the dams of seven forges and six grist mills on Maxatawny creek, chiefly in this county, the rest in Philadelphia county.

Mr. Levan told me that at the same time that the Indians did the mischief in Allemangel, another party killed and scalped a man near Fort Henry, in this county, and the next day carried off a young woman from the same neighborhood. I am told too—though I cannot tell what credit is to be given

**Penna. Archives, vcl. 3, p. 77.

* *Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 116.

†Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 153.

to it—that two persons were killed and scalped near the Fort at Northkill, in this county, Wednesday evening last, at the time of the thunderstorm.

I had almost forgot to mention (for I am so hurried just now, 'tis no wonder) that the Indians, after scalping Adam Trump, left a knife and a halbert, or a spear, fixed to a pole of four feet, in his body.† JAMES READ.

Maxatawny.—The great number of relics found in Maxatawny, points out that township as an old and extensive Indian settlement, and it is but natural to suppose that if the Indians wished to have revenge upon the white people for occupying their lands they would have visited this township much sooner, but the forts and settlements along the Blue Mountains made it hazardous for the Indians to venture so far south. Their custom was to come stealthily through the mountains and uninhabited sections of the country, fall upon a few families and then retreat before the alarm could be given and a force collected to oppose them. If Maxatawny could have been reached as readily as the upper townships, it would, beyond a doubt, have been the scene of some of the most brutal acts committed in this county.

Maxatawny (Machksithaune) is an Indian name which signifies *Bear's Path Creek*, and was evidently applied to the creek that flows through the township near Kutztown. Its soil is fertile, and the small tracts of wood still standing show conclusively that it was once covered with the giant oak and thus afforded shelter for the bears that abounded there, and their path along the creek gave it the name.

Conrad Weiser, who had gone to Easton to hold a conference with the Indians, wrote to Governor Denny July 15, 1757: "In coming along through Maxatawny I heard a melancholy account of ten people being killed by the enemy Indians. They passed by two or three plantations on this side of the mountain before they attacked. A certain woman ran off towards her place and told her husband of the attack, who cut the gears off his horses then in the plow, and rode as fast as he could to Lieut. Wetherholt, about three miles off. Lieut. Wetherholt, with a small detachment, I am told seven in number, came away immediately, and came to the place where the murder was committed, where by that time a number of people had gathered. Wetherholt proposed to pursue the enemy, but none would go with him, so he took his seven men and pursued the enemy a few miles from the house and found the place where they rested themselves, and in about three miles he overtook them in thick bushes, at a very little distance. It seems they saw one another at once. One of the Indians was beforehand with Wetherholt and aimed at him, but his gun flashed. Wetherholt, a moment after, fired at the Indian, and thinks he hit him but is not sure. Several guns were fired by our people, but did no execution, and the Indians' guns missing fire, they ran off and left two horses behind them, one belonging to the man they killed, laden with the best of his household goods.§

Sinking Spring.—The Indians became more daring and ventured further into the county. One was seen a little beyond Sinking Spring, in the latter part of July, 1757.||

†Rupp's History of Berks, p. 70.

§Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 218.

||Penna. Archives vol. 3, p. 245.

Bern.—The following extract of a letter from James Read to the Governor, dated Reading, July 27, 1757, shows that the Indians were sometimes aided by the white people in committing depredations in the county. This is the first mention made of white men plundering property and carrying off persons, but it is not known how often they were here before disguised as Indians and were not detected :

"It is with great uneasiness I must inform your honor that the day before yesterday four white men took away from a plantation in Bern township about thirteen miles from this town, one — Good, (I think that is the surname) a lad about sixteen years old, and carried him to four Indians about eight miles from the place where he was taken. The white men and Indians all got very drunk, and the lad happily made his escape in the night. Of his being taken I heard the evening it happened ; of the rest I was informed by Robert Smith, a Sergeant who came yesterday from Fort William (Lebanon), and on his road was told by one Peter Rodermel, a farmer of very good credit, who had seen and conversed with the lad. Monday, in the afternoon, an Indian was seen near Sinking Spring, five miles from the town, by Peter Rood, a person of as high credit as is in the county. Some of the inhabitants went immediately in pursuit of the Indian, but returned without having overtaken him.

"I have taken care ever since the ninth of this month to keep a patrol of ten of the inhabitants every night about this town ; and, as our people are very uneasy upon hearing that white men are among the Indians, we purpose to have a guard to-night of twenty-one ; seven at either end of the town and seven in the centre, who will keep out a patrol all night."¶ The letter closed with a strong appeal to the Governor for more soldiers to be stationed at different places in the county that the people might feel secure in their homes and that the Indians could not come into the county and in the vicinity of Reading, to plunder and murder without resistance.

Albany and Windsor.—The commanding officers of the forts may have kept diaries during the whole year, and if they did it is much to be regretted that they were not published entire, because they present to us so many personal acts and local events of interest which compose an essential part of history and could hardly be kept in any other form of record.

From a journal* kept by Jacob Morgan, of Fort Lebanon, we learn that the soldiers were especially vigilant in Albany and Windsor during July, 1757, while the farmers were engaged in harvesting their grain. Corporals with squads of soldiers ranged through Albany and Windsor almost daily from the first to the twelfth of July.

"12th. I went with ten men to Windsor township and stationed them there, where I found the most proper. In the evening very heavy rain and thunder, obliged me to stay all night ; we sent some parties to guard the farmers.

"13th. I returned in the morning to the fort. * * * Parties went to guard the farmers, and this day in my return I met the scout which I had posted in Windsor township, ranging about the farmers' houses.

¶Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 246.

*Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 253-4.

"14th. Parties ranged and guarded the farmers.

"15th. Being all day heavy rain, and the creeks so high that the Schuylkill rose perpendicularly fifteen feet in nine hours' time, being considerably higher than ever was known in these parts; the guards could not return, and we remained in the fort with only eight men to guard."

During the remainder of July soldiers were sent out daily to guard the farmers in their agricultural work, but no Indians came to molest them during the month. Here the journal ends abruptly, and we are not informed what took place in the vicinity of Fort Lebanon thereafter.

Northkill.—There was another attack in the neighborhood of Fort Northkill, on the first of October, 1757. Application was made to Conrad Weiser, who was in Reading at the time, for immediate assistance, whereupon Captain Oswald, who commanded the guards about Reading, sent two Lieutenants with forty men to their relief. Conrad Weiser again appealed to the Governor for aid, and advised him to withdraw the "first battalion of Pennsylvania Regiment," stationed at Fort Augusta, near Shamokin, and place the soldiers along our frontier as long as the Indians were so numerous.

Great Distress.—During certain periods no Indians were to be found along the borders of the county for a considerable time, and when the people were in the enjoyment of peace and entertained the hope that they might never be disturbed again in their quiet habitations, suddenly the alarm was again sounded, and every family feared that it might be attacked, and that the head of the family upon whom all depended, might be shot, some dear children scalped alive, and the mother carried away by the murderers, into a strange land. The condition of the people is so pathetically portrayed by Conrad Weiser in a letter to Richard Peters, Secretary to the Governor, that its insertion here will give the reader a better idea of their dreadful sufferings, than a description penned by any other person :

HEIDELBERG, Berks Co., Oct. 4, 1757.

SIR :—I did not think of the post till he entered my door, else I would have written particularly to the Governor, though I have been very busy with writing to the commanding officers of the several forts under my care. It is now come so far that murder is committed almost every day; there never was such a consternation among the people; they must now leave their houses again, with their barns full of grain; five children were carried off last Friday; some days before a sick man was killed upon his bed; he begged of the enemy to shoot him through his heart, which the Indian answered, I will, and did so. A girl that had hid herself under a bedstead, in the next room, heard all this; two more families were, about that time, destroyed. Inclosed is the journal of last month of my ensign at Northkill. Captain Busse lies dangerously sick at John Harris'. I hear he is tired of everything. I have neither men nor a sufficient number of officers to defend the country. If his honor would be pleased to send orders to recall all the men belonging to my battalion, from Fort Augusta, he would justly bring upon him the blessings of the Most High. I cannot say any more. I think myself unhappy; to fly with my family in this time of danger I can't do. I must stay if they all go. I am now preparing to go to Fort Henry, where I shall meet some officers to consult with,

what may be best to be done. I have ordered ten men, with the Governor's last order, to Fort Augusta; I shall overtake them this evening at Fort Henry, and give them proper instruction. For God's sake, dear sir, beg of the Governor, press it upon him in my behalf, and in behalf of these distressed inhabitants, to order my men back from Fort Augusta. I will give my reason afterwards, that I am in the right. I conclude with my humble respects to his honor.†

And remain, kind sir, your most humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

Widespread Alarm.—This alarm was not confined to Berks county, but extended far beyond its boundaries. On the fifth of October, a petition signed by nearly one hundred inhabitants of Northampton, was sent to the Governor. In this petition is set forth their defenseless condition, the solicitude of the people for their lives and property, and an earnest prayer for soldiers and guard-houses to put them in a state of defence that they would not be in constant dread of losing everything dear to this life.

Michael La Chauvignerie, a French officer, was captured at Fort Henry, and examined in Reading, October 16, 1757, by Conrad Weiser, James Read and Thomas Oswald, but nothing of any particular importance was developed except that he had been in this part of the country once before and that his party killed and scalped a German, and took seven children prisoners. He also stated that the prisoners captured by the Indians were taken to Fort Du Quesne and thence to Canada and there they were kept as prisoners of war and not as slaves as it was generally supposed.‡ It is not recorded what was Chauvignerie's doom.

Fort at Dietrich Snyder's.—Since writing a description of the forts in Berks county, I observed on the "Historical Map of Pennsylvania, 1875," that another fort was located on the top of the Blue Mountains, directly north of Fort Northkill, and was called "Fort at Dietrich Snyder's." I immediately applied to Mr. Jonathan Goodman, of Strausstown, and learned that a fort was located there. This so-called fort was situated on one of the most conspicuous points of the Blue Mountains, and was in all probability not intended as a fort, but as an observatory or watch-house. This belief is corroborated by the fact that it was not more than a mile and a half or two miles from Fort Northkill, and afforded a splendid view of that portion of the county embraced in a semi-circle of twenty miles in diameter. Buildings set on fire by the Indians, could be observed at once, and a report of them could have been sent to the commander of Fort Northkill in a very short time. By resorting to vigilance of this kind the people could discover the presence of and localities disturbed by the Indians and could drive them out of the county and thus prevent much harm and suffering which they would otherwise have inflicted upon the people.

Forts in Berks.—James Young, Commissioner of the Musters, and Adjutant Kern, made a tour of inspection to the forts between the Susquehanna and Delaware, and rendered a report of their observations in the beginning of February, 1758. In Fort William, which was formerly called

†Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 283.

‡Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 295.

Fort Lebanon, Capt. Morgan, Lieut. Humphreys and Ensign Harry were the officers. The report says that there were in the fort at the time of the inspection fifty-three men, twenty-three of whom had their own arms and thirty had provincial arms, seventy-five pounds of powder, eighty pounds of lead, twelve cartridges, and provision for fourteen days. Jonas Seely was the commissary for this fort.

Twenty-eight men were stationed and on duty in Albany township. Nothing is said of ammunition or provisions, and we may, therefore, infer that these men were located there temporarily.§

No mention is made of Fort Northkill in the report. That at Dietrich Six's must have been abandoned at this time.

Col. James Burd also visited the forts between the Susquehanna and Delaware in the month of February. The first fort that he inspected was Harris (Harrisburg), and when he came to Fort Henry at the gap of the Swatara, he ordered Ensign Holler to range from that fort to Fort Northkill, and to "employ all his judgment to waylay the enemy and protect the inhabitants." He says nothing further about Fort Northkill, and from the absence of such a report we are led to infer that the soldiers were withdrawn and the fort abandoned. He says in his journal:

"Thursday, 23d. Marched this morning, (from Conrad Weiser's) and arrived at Reading at 3 P. M., found Capt. Morgan here; this is 14 miles from Mr. Weiser's. Examined the stores here and found 77 blankets, 8 pounds of powder, 300 pounds of lead, and half a cask of flints. * *

"Before I came to Reading, Adjutant Kern had sent by Lieutenant Engle blankets for four companies, viz: Ornd, Weatherholt, Davis and Garaway, 224, and one-quarter cask of powder, 300 bars of lead, and 1600 flints.

"Friday, 24th. This morning set out for Fort William, arrived at Peter Rodermil's at 2 P. M., 15 miles from Reading; it snowed and blew so prodigiously, I stayed here all night.

"Saturday, 25th. Marched this morning, the snow deep, for Fort William, arrived at Fort William at 12 M.; here was Lieut. Humphreys and Ensign Harry; ordered a review of the garrison at 2 P. M.; at 2 P. M. reviewed the garrison and found 33 good men, but deficient in discipline; stores—3 quarter casks of powder, 150 pounds of lead, 400 flints and 56 blankets, no arms fit for use, no kettles, nor tools, nor drum; two months' provisions.

"Here I found a target erected, ordered the company to shoot at the mark, set them the example myself by wheeling round and firing at the word of command. I shot a bullet into the centre of the mark, the size of a dollar, distance 100 yards. Some of them shot tolerably bad; most of their arms are very bad.

"Ordered Captain Morgan to continue to patrol to Northkill and Alle-mangel."||

On Sunday, the 26th, he left Fort William and went over the mountain to inspect forts beyond the limits of Berks, and consequently the rest of his journal must be omitted here.

§Penna. Archives, vol 3, p, 340-1.

||Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 354.

Bern.—Bern at this time included Centre and Upper Bern. From an "humble petition¶ of the inhabitants of the township of Bern and parts adjacent in the county of Berks," sent to Governor Denny in March, 1758, we are informed that the winter was extremely severe, and on account of the severity of the weather the people were not molested by the Indians, and inasmuch as they could not come for several months to plunder, the inhabitants were very apprehensive of an attack as soon as the snow had melted and the weather become fair. They felt less secure from the fact that Fort Northkill had been abandoned and no soldiers were stationed in that part of the county to range to and fro and afford them at least some protection. The thought of there being "three or four Indian paths leading into their neighborhood," by which the Indians could come unobserved, murder a few families, and then retrace their steps over the mountains before the alarm could be given to their neighbors to pursue and overtake them, was sufficient to fill their minds with the greatest anxiety, and constrained them "most humbly to beg his Honor to compassionate their miserable condition, and order soldiers to be stationed for their defence in some of the most exposed farm houses, or take such other effectual measures for their security and protection as to his Honor's wisdom shall seem best."

The Governor, in a message to the Assembly on the twenty-seventh of April, 1758, said: "We have just received a petition from the distressed inhabitants of the town of Reading; their unhappy situation seems to be more easily conceived than described, occasioned by the want of a due exertion of the military force in that quarter."* The Governor earnestly entreated that the Assembly should order some of the Provincial forces to be sent to their immediate relief. The matter was taken into consideration and a hundred provincials were sent.

C. Sauer says in one of his issues of April, 1758, that "At Tulpehocken, a man by the name of Lebenguth and his wife were killed and scalped. At Northkill, Nicholas Geiger's wife and two of his children were killed; and also Michael Ditzeler's wife was killed—these were all scalped. The Indians have divided themselves into small parties and surprised the settlers unawares,"**

Teedyuscung, the chief of the Delawares, was present at the meeting of the Provincial Council, May 2, 1758, to see when the houses were to be built at Wyoming, which it seems the government had promised to put up for them, and "the Governor then entered into conversation with Teedyuscung on the late mischiefs that had been done by the Indians on the frontiers of Berks county, and desired to know if he had learned what Indians were concerned in them. To which he answered he could not tell who they were; he sent his two sons to the Ohio to demand the cause of these murders, and could not account for this last mischief."* *

Captain Busse wrote to Conrad Weiser from Fort Henry, in Lebanon:

DEAR SIR: At noon I received news that this morning about 8 o'clock the Indians took and carried away the wife of John Frantz, with three children, six miles from here, deep in the country. I sent momentarily Lieut.

¶Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 361.

*Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 381.

**Rupp's History of Berks, p. 76.

*Col. Rec., vol. 8, p. 102.

Johnston with a party of nine men to go along the mountains and to stay at the Hole to intercept them. They being gone, a farmer who was following on horseback, came back and told me that he saw three Indians near the Fort at Six's, (Dietrich Six's or Fort Henry, in Bethel township). Being not able to spare more men, as just a detachment was out to meet the wagon with provision, I sent Sergeant Christ. Mowrer only with two men to look for their tracks. It is a cruel fate that we are brought to; we shall fight without powder and lead. If some is there, be pleased to send it to us. I hope you will give Captain Blakewell notice hereof, with my compliments.

I am, Dear Sir, Your very humble servant,

CHRISTIAN BUSSE.

Fort Henry, June 19, 1758, 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Just now I received news that the son of John Snabele, not far from Dub's, is killed and scalped, having five shots in his body. As this has happened at the same time there must be undoubtedly a good number of the Indians. It is probable that they are still in the country, all the tracks going in and none out. I suppose, according to the tracks, that there are about twenty in the country. I believe that our very good allies at Wyoming have done this service to us, as all the tracks over the mountains come from the east.

The farmers of Tulpehocken have brought up some men toward the Hole, and desired me to join them with a part of the garrison, whereupon I have sent them a sergeant with eight men.

At 5 o'clock.†

The capture of Frantz's family occurred one and a half miles north of Mt. *Ætna*, in Tulpehocken township, on the farm of Henry B. Brown, dec'd.

If the Fort at Dietrich Six's was ever a military station, it is evident from the preceding letter that none were there at the time of these occurrences, and it may have been in such a dilapidated condition as to afford no protection to the people.

Directly north of Millersburg, in Bethel township, the Blue Mountains break off abruptly in Round Top Mountain, and then recede in a northeasterly direction nearly a mile, thence gradually changing their course northwesterly and west, and thus form a large semicircle, or what, in speaking of water, would be called a bay, and if viewed from a distance, it looks like a *hole* in the mountains. The land is productive, and, being bounded on the north by lofty mountains, is partly protected from the cold blasts of the winter and is first to receive the genial rays of the sun in the early spring. Viewed from the Round Top Mountain, the northern part of Bethel, diversified with hills, fertile valleys, meandering streams, and picturesque views along the mountains, presents a prospect that will satisfy the mind of every one who inquires why some of the first settlers of our county went to the mountains.

I am under obligations to Mr. J. W. Deck, of Millersburg, for conveying me to and guiding me to the top of Round Top Mountain to enjoy a view that fills the heart of a lover of nature with wonder and admiration, to overflowing.

The term *Hole* is sometimes applied to Swatara Gap, in Lebanon county, in the Colonial Records and Pennsylvania Archives, and the allusion is so indi-

†Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 425-6.

rect in some instances that it is very difficult to decide which place is meant.

Supplies for the Army.—The exhaustion of provision and ammunition in the western part of Pennsylvania, necessitated the government to levy upon the counties in the east for wagons to transport to the west such supplies as the army needed, and the success of the English army during the preceding year had so encouraged the people in the east that they furnished the government with many horses and wagons for the transportation of necessities for the army. The following letter from Conrad Weiser to R. Peters, secretary to the government, shows what Berks county contributed toward the prosecution of the French and Indian War :

READING, June 21, 1758.

SIR : The second division of wagons from the county of Berks, is now going off for Philadelphia, in order to load stores of Mr. Joshua Howel for the use of the army, commanded by his excellency, Gen. Forbes ; this division consists of twenty-six wagons, four more are fitting out here, so that there will be fifty-six good strong wagons from this county in this service ; each wagon is completely furnished with four able horses, and an expert driver, according to the direction of the General, or Col. Bouquet, all (but four) contracted voluntarily with me. I appointed over each division a deputy wagon master, to serve as such till it shall be otherwise ordered by the proper officer or officers, both understand smith and wheelwright work ; their names are John Esher and Jacob Weaver, freeholders of Berks county ; have the English and the German tolerably well ; I furnished them with money of my own, but have since received by order of Col. Bouquet, through means of Mr. Adam Hoops, my own again, and what else was wanting. May the Most High prosper our labor with success, is the hearty wish of,

Dear Sir, Your most obedient and humble servant,

CONRAD WEISER.

The township of Tulpehocken furnished ten wagons and paid bounty money to some. My son, Frederick, and one of his neighbors, furnished one between themselves."†

Indian Theft.—Major Ornd wrote from Fort Augusta, September 20, 1759, that "last week three Delaware Indians that had been hunting near Tulpehocken, stole six horses from thence ; the persons who lost the horses fell on the tracks and followed them to the fort and acquainted me of the loss." Major Ornd, on inquiry, discovered the thieves, who confessed and said that when their property was taken, not much was said ; but when they took a few horses, a great noise was made. They were ordered to restore the horses to their owners, but they went away and did not return.§

Albany.—John Fincher, whose property was destroyed by the Indians in 1756, met a much worse fate in the murder of nearly his whole family just about the time that peace was declared.

SINKING SPRING, Sept. 10, 1763.

HONORED SIR : I am sorry I have to acquaint your honor of the following melancholy account which I received from Captain Kern last night : On the eighth instant a party of Indians came to the house of one John Fincher,

†Penna. Archives, vol. 3, p. 428.

§Col. Rec., vol. 8, p. 406.

about three-quarters of a mile distant from Captain Kern's men, commanded by Ensign Schaffer; they killed Fincher, his wife, and two of his sons, his daughter is missing; one little boy made his escape from the savages, and came to the ensign, who immediately went to the place with his party. But the Indians were gone, and finding by their tracks which way they went, pursued them to the house of one Nicholas Miller, where he found four children murdered; our party still pursued, and soon came up with the enemy and fired on them. They returned the fire, but the soldiers rushed on them so furiously that they soon ran off and left behind them two prisoners, two tomahawks, one hanger, and a saddle; the Indians were eight in number, and our party seven; three of the enemy were much wounded. The two prisoners that our party recovered were two of said Miller's children that they had tied together, and so drove them along. Miller's wife is missing; in all there are eight killed and two missing in that neighborhood.¶

I am, Honored Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,
JONAS SEELY.

Upper Bern.—

READING, Sept. 11, 1763.

HONORED SIR: This moment, at Reading, as I was sending off the express, certain intelligence came that the house of Frantz Hubler, in Bern township (now Upper Bern), about 18 miles from here, was attacked Friday evening last by the Indians; himself is wounded, his wife and three children carried off, and three other of his children scalped alive, two of whom are since dead.¶

I am, Honored Sir, Your most obedient humble servant,
JONAS SEELY.

Jonas Seely wrote again to Governor John Penn, November 25, 1763, that the enemy murdered three men on Tuesday, the fifteenth instant, about twenty-two miles from Reading, on the north side of the mountain, in the forks of the Schuylkill. These unhappy persons were returning to a plantation which they had deserted. Captain Kern, immediately upon hearing of this murder, marched after the enemy, whom he pursued for two days, but a very heavy snow having fallen, and the Indians having fled a considerable time before Kern came up to the place where the murder was committed, he desisted from the pursuit.*

This, though a little beyond the present limits, was the last murder committed by the Indians in Berks county.

The Number of Persons Murdered and Captured.—In all the terrible conflicts during the French and Indian War the Indians killed one hundred and thirty-four persons and captured thirty-three. A few of those that were taken away from their dear homes were returned after the war, but from the majority of them nothing was ever heard. Since many of them were adults and children who could have told the story of their capture and found their way back, it is credible that they were either killed by the Indians or they perished under their cruel treatment. It may seem almost incredible, but during the same time only four Indians were killed in this county by the

¶Col. Rec., vol. 9, p. 44.

¶Col. Rec., vol. 9, p. 44.

*Penna. Archives, vol. 4, p. 141.

white people. The question naturally arises what is the reason that the Indians killed and captured so many and that the white people with all their vigilance, arms, military skill and forts, killed so few. A moment's reflection will explain the reason. The Indians were robust, active and cunning. They could endure physical exertion to a much greater degree than the white race. Loskiel says, "they run so swift, that if a deer does not fall upon the first shot, they throw off their blanket and seldom fail to overtake him." The forts along the frontier were from ten to twelve miles apart. The fleet Indians would quietly cross the Blue Mountains and fall upon a family unexpectedly, and then escape speedily; or they would stealthily approach a field in which a part of a family were engaged in tilling the soil, whom they killed and others of the family they took prisoners, before an alarm could be given and soldiers could reach the place of disturbance. And even when they were in sight of the Indians, they, by their agility, would often escape through the woods and rocky places over the mountains without receiving a wound. The failure to capture more Indians was not owing to a want of watchfulness and determination on the part of the people, but the Indians by their cunning and sagacity avoided danger, and whenever they were met or pursued by the people or soldiers, their fleetness would enable them to escape even when they were pursued on horse-back.

French and Indian War.—In the beginning of the French and Indian War the English were generally unsuccessful and in a few battles they were completely routed and sustained a very heavy loss. This naturally had a tendency to dispirit the army and cast dismay over the whole State of Pennsylvania, while, on the other hand, it so encouraged the enemies that they fought more vigorously and sent more marauding parties to disturb settlements, to murder innocent people and thus divide the strength of the army. But in 1758 the war was prosecuted with more energy and determination on the part of the English, and in consequence of an increased activity and probably better generalship, the English army was victorious in nearly every one of its engagements. Louisburg, Duquesne, Quebec, Ticonderoga, Crown Point and Niagara were successively captured by the victorious English army and in 1760 the whole of Canada surrendered to the English, though the treaty of peace was not signed until 1763.

Just as the French were driven north into Canada the large body of Indians that were allied to them followed them either north or went west to the Ohio River, so that at the time when peace was declared there were only a few Indians in the eastern section of Pennsylvania, except a small settlement of friendly Indians at Shamokin, and a few families scattered here and there. A few families of partly civilized Indians remained in Berks county a long time after this.

Retrospect.—It is not known what transpired among the Indians in Berks county prior to 1705. The white people may have had settlements here before that time, and if they had, no record of them can be found. From 1705 to the commencement of the War in 1754—a period of almost fifty years—the Caucasians and the Copper-colored race lived together in peace and friendship, bought, sold and gave presents with the greatest dignity and honor. The Indians may have sold land very cheap, and some-

times they disputed the boundary lines of certain tracts, yet, when they were shown the deeds they were invariably satisfied. It will be observed by the reader that soon after the advent of Penn, the Indians gradually sold their land and retreated north and west, until the war began, when, misled by promises from the French, they turned against the English who had befriended them for nearly seventy-five years, and from 1754 to 1763 the Indians were between two fires, and in that period of time they lost more territory, more lives and suffered infinitely more than they did the fifty preceding years. In tracing out the history of the Indians of Berks county, the period from the time that they lived in their primitive state, hunting the animals in the extensive forests, and catching, in their own style, the fish with which the creeks abounded, to the time of the last conflict with the champions of the tomahawk and scalping-knife—when their history ceased as a race—extends over less than sixty years. In examining their history and studying their character in their wigwams, we must admire them for their heroism, commend them for their unexceptional honesty in dealing and look upon them as men possessing many fine and noble qualities, but in war we find them implacable foes, murdering their enemies in the most cruel manner, and inflicting upon innocent women and children the most cruel tortures of which the mind could conceive.

Cause of the Breach of Friendship.—We have followed the Indian in all his relations with the white man as closely as the records enabled us ; we found him friendly and he left us a bitter enemy. We look back and find that until 1754 there was no occurrence that marred the peace between the Provincial Government and the tribes of Indians. There were conflicts between individuals, but they were always adjusted and the offended parties appeased. Traders would go among them with large quantities of rum, and after they had intoxicated the Indians, they would defraud them and often rob them of their skins. The government passed stringent laws for the punishment of such traders, and this act of the government gave them assurances of their protection against wrong, so that they entertained no hostile feelings on this account. There is, however, no record of such traders from Berks county. Then what did the white people do to excite the enmity of the Indians ? What was the cause for all these massacres of unoffending people in Berks county ? There is no justifiable one.

In 1755 the Governor was trying to solve the same problem, and in order to make a full investigation, a committee of three—Robert Strettell, Joseph Turner and Thomas Cadwalader—was appointed to find the cause of the defection of the Indians. A paragraph in their report embodies the result of their inquiry :

“And we further beg leave to remind your honor that at one of the conferences held with Scaroyody, one of the Six Nation chiefs, and Andrew Montour, in the council chamber, they being particularly asked if the Delawares or Showanese had any cause of complaint given them by this government ; they declared that those Indians never mentioned any to them, and that they never heard or did believe they had any ; but that they attributed their defection wholly to the defeat of Gen. Braddock, and the increase of strength and reputation gained on that victory by the

French, and their intimidating those Indians and using all means by promises and threats, to seduce and fix them in their interest ; and to the seeming weakness and want of union in the English, and their appearing unable or unwilling to protect them, and particularly this government, who had constantly refused to put the hatchet into their hands ; and we beg leave to say, we are entirely of opinion that this is the true and sole cause of their defection."[†]

Teedyuscung, the Chief of the Delawares, at a meeting in Easton, June 28, 1762, in a speech to Governor Hamilton, of Penn'a, and Sir William Johnson, of N. Y., said :

"At a treaty held here about six years ago, I made a complaint against the proprietors and charged them with depriving us of our lands by forgery and fraud, which we did at a time when we were just come from the French, by whom we were very much incensed against our brothers, the English. This matter was, afterwards, by our mutual consent, referred to the great King George over the waters, who directed you, brother, to enquire into the circumstances of the case and make a report to him that he might see what was just therein.

"You have taken the trouble to come for this purpose and many days have been spent in this affair. It now appears, by sundry old writings and papers which have been shown by the proprietary commissioners, and read at this conference, that the said charge of forgery was a mistake, into which mistake we were led by the accounts we had received from our ancestors concerning the lands sold by Maykerikishe, Sahoppey and Tahaughsey to old William Penn in the year 1686."[‡]

What bitter hostility, what indescribable woe and what terrible slaughter resulted from a misunderstanding—a *mistake* !

The last of the Indians.—Before the French and Indian War the bartering that was carried on between the white people and the Indians, and the close proximity of their settlements had a tendency to subdue some of the wild features of the Indian character and thus some families lived in the county unmolested during the war, and remained a long time after its close. When peace had been made and tranquillity restored traveling bands of Indians would frequently come into the county to barter and sell such articles as they made.

Mr. Jacob Leiby, of Perry, who is 83 years old, says that he remembers quite vividly, that, when he was yet a small boy, three Indian men, three women and some children came to his father's house about two miles above Dunkel's Church, in Greenwich township, and asked for milk. His mother gave them a pottle. After they had drunk the milk they returned the pot and gave two baskets made of variegated wood, for which he thinks his mother gave a little money in addition to the milk. The baskets were well-made and were in use in the family for many years. The Indians had cloth wrapped around the body, but their arms, legs and feet were bare.

In 1819, while Mr. Leiby was working at his trade, black-smithing, in Reading, a party of Indians, consisting of ten men and two women, came

[†]Col. Rec., vol. 6, p. 727.

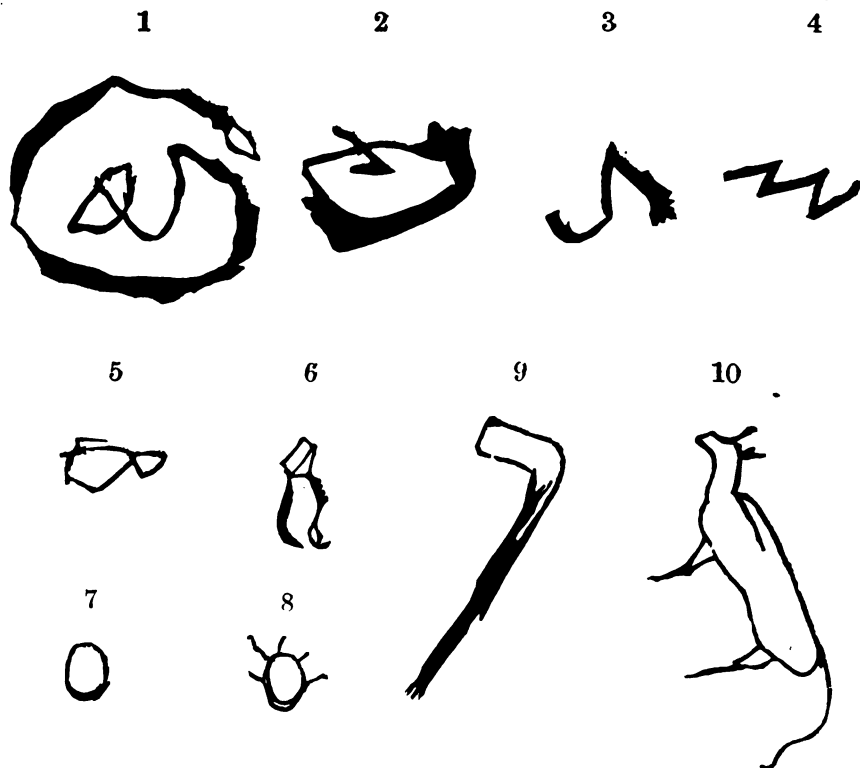
[‡]Penna. Archives, vol. 4, p. 85.

to Reading and "put up" at the public house of Abraham Whitman, southeast corner of Fifth and Franklin streets. They had a paper or certificate of friendliness which commended them to the kindness and generosity of the people, stating that they were undergoing the process of civilization and that they came here for the purpose of getting some information to ameliorate their condition. The people collected a considerable sum of money and presented it to them. In the evening they put the chairs in the centre of the room and danced around them, singing songs in their peculiar way. The money which was presented to them was intended for a better object, but with some of it they purchased all the beads they could find in Reading and the rest they expended for liquor and had an uproarious time before they left. It was the opinion that they took none of the money along that was given to them. Mr. Jacob B. Hoff, of Reading, who is 85 years of age, confirms the preceding incident, and says that he in his boyhood often saw Indians in Reading.

Mr. Leiby has a good memory and is a fluent talker. Among the many interesting histories that he relates of former times, there is one of peculiar interest. He says that his grandfather often related that, at a time when the Indians were still numerous, he was hunting on the Blue Mountains, and after he had expended all his lead, he met an Indian on his home-road to whom he stated the object of his going home. The Indian told Mr. Leiby to accompany him, and that he would give him as much lead as he wanted. When they had gone some distance, the Indian told Mr. Leiby that he could not show him where he obtained the lead, and that he should kindle a fire while he went to bring it. After a short absence the Indian returned with his hands full of "lead ore"; the ore was melted and Mr. Leiby continued his hunting. In addition to the reliability of this statement, there are traditions among the people of Albany that the Indians used to come south of the main range of the mountains and after a short absence they would return loaded with "lead ore." This induced the people of Albany to believe that there was a "lead mine" somewhere in the mountains and that they kept it concealed so well that it escaped the observation of the people. In 1869, when I was County Superintendent and was in Albany making my tour of teachers' examinations, a fine specimen of galena found on one of the mountains in the township, was shown to me. Considerable money and labor were expended in searching for lead, but none was found. The geological formation does not seem to indicate the probability of a deposit of lead, and whence did the galena then come? It might have been possible for a Caucasian to drop it while crossing the mountain, and another one to find it, but it is just as plausible that the Indians brought lead from Galena, as copper from Lake Superior. Several copper implements were found in Berks county, and it is generally believed that the Indians obtained their copper at the great lake. Another surmise in regard to Mr. Leiby's statement is that the Indian might have brought the pure lead and not the "ore." The government often furnished them with considerable quantities of lead, some of which they might have had concealed in the fissures of rocks for safety.

An Indian remained with the Bertolet family in Oley a long time after all the others of his race had left, but suddenly he disappeared, and nothing was heard of him afterward.

Education among the Indians.—The Indians knew nothing of schools, books, newspapers or the art of writing. In many respects they were ingenious and skillful, and more recent attempts to educate them have proved that they have abilities and that they are able to learn quite readily the arts and sciences of civilized nations to a considerable extent, but in their original state they were entirely ignorant, and had neither an alphabet nor a system of characters by which they could communicate information or record events. Some of the implements that are found at the present day as well as some of the rocks where they lived, bear some hieroglyphics which were undoubtedly intended to convey some information, but no one is able to decipher them. Every Indian that had occasion to affix his signature to a deed or release from land, was the inventor of his own hieroglyphics and hence no two are alike. It is not probable that the Indians used anything in the form of pen, ink and paper until they sold land to the white people, and it became necessary to sign the deeds. The Pennsylvania Archives give one hundred and twelve of these characters which the Indian chiefs attached to deeds, as their signatures. I will give the fac-similes of the chiefs that lived in this part of the country.



Nos. 1, 2 and 3 are characters made by Taminant, chief of the Delawares, June 23, 1683, for the sale of land between Pennepack and Neshaminy creeks, flowing into the Delaware north of Philadelphia. No 1 was evidently intend-

ed to represent a snake, and the curious figure attached to its tail was symbolical of something, but my inability to see its resemblance to any object, forbids me to venture on a conjecture. No. 3 was his signature for the receipt for money. The angular character, No. 4, is the mark Kekerappan made June 23, 1683, and No. 6 is the one he made September 20, 1683, when he sold the land to William Penn referred to on page 8. No 5 is another of Taminant's marks, June 15, 1692, for land described on page 8. On the eleventh of October, 1736, a deed was signed by twenty-three chiefs of the Six Nations, conveying lands on both sides of the Susquehanna to the Kittatinny (Endless Mountains), "eastward to the farthest spring of the waters running into the said river." This deed included parts of Bethel, Tulpehocken and Upper Tulpehocken, drained by the Little Swatara. The names of all of the chiefs are strange and all may have resided in New York except Shekellamy, who was an Oneida and lived at Shamokin. No 7 is his signature, which is given here because of his frequent visits to Berks. The others must be omitted. Twenty-four chiefs signed the deed for the sale of the land north of the Blue Mountains, on the twenty-second of August, 1749. Nos. 8 and 10 are the signatures of the only two Delawares, Nutimus and Qualpaghach. Nutimus appears not to have had a definite object in view when he signed the deed; Qualpaghach had, but not being very dexterous in linear perspective he fails to convey to the eyes of the observer what animal he intended to represent. Were it not for the absence of two legs, a little study would enable the imagination to conceive that the picture might represent any animal from a mouse to a deer. Probably that was Qualpaghach's intention, and if it was, he succeeded admirably. No. 9, the pipe of peace, is the signature of Tackneedorus (Spreading Oak), the oldest son of Shekellamy. The drawing is rather graceful and natural with a few irregularities in the stem which indicate a fracture, and, when Tackneedorus drew the calumet on the parchment, the thought of a treaty that was only partly fulfilled, may have occurred to his mind and caused him to indicate it by a broken stem. Some of the other signers drew turtles and animals the species of which it is as difficult to identify as No. 10, while others made unintelligible "hooks and crooks." This is the only original literature of the Indians that is extant.

Heckewelder, and others that spent a great deal of time among the Indians, have handed down to us vocabularies and fragments of the Delaware language, but the work was all done by these men by means of English letters in imitation of Indian pronunciation as closely as possible. The following is the conjugation of the verb *love* in the Indicative Mood, Present tense:

Singular.		Plural.	
1. N' dahoala.		1. N' dahoalaneen.	
2. K' dahoala.		2. K' dahoalohhimo.	
3. W' dahoala or		3. ahoalewak.	
ahoaleu.			

If the sweet coalescence of the letters which is so common in the English language in words denoting love and affection was also a striking characteristic of the Indian language, *loving* among them was not so agreeable an affair as it is among civilized people. But the conjugation of *dahoala* in their vernacular, may not have been as grating to their ears as it seems to ours, and when the word was pronounced by them, it might have been much more

melodious than we imagine it to have been.

The following is the Lord's Prayer in the Delaware language, as the Moravians of Oley, Bethel and probably a few other places in Berks taught it to the Indians. Nearly every word is a jaw-wrencher. It is inserted here to show the unwieldiness of their language, and to make it accessible to those who may get tired of repeating it in simple Anglo-Saxon words, and may wish to repeat it in a language stronger and more forcible. It is not the idea that Christians "shall be barbarians unto" each other, and it is, therefore, recommended only for the use of private devotion :

Ki Wetochemelenk, talli epian Awassagame. Machelendasutch Ktellesowsowogan Kfakimawogan pejewigetsch. Ktelite hewoagan legetch talli achquidhaackamike, elgiqui leek talli Awossagame. Milineen elgischquik gunigischuk achpoan. Woak miwelendammanwineen'n Tshannauchsowogannena elgiqui niluna miwelendammanwenk nik Tschetschanilawequengik. Woak katschi 'npawuneen li Achquetschiechtowoganung, tschokund ktenneen untshi Medhickung. Alod knilaillatamen ksakimawogan, woak ktallewussowogan, woak ktallowillussowogan, ne wuntschi hallemiwili hallamagamik. Amen.*

The Delawares, like all other Indians, had no written language, and, hence their vocal language disappeared with them, with the exception of sakima (sachem), oehquen (squaw), tamachican (tomahawk), wickwam (wigwam), the names of some rivers, mountains and places, and a few fragments preserved in the writings of missionaries, which have already been alluded to.

I have thus far given the history of the Indians as I found it in the old records, gathering a fragment here and another there, and attempted to connect them together so as to throw as much light upon the early history of Berks as possible. I have also given a few traditions of a reliable source. Many others might have been collected but they did not appear to be well authenticated. I will now take up the study of the unwritten history of the Indians which is found in the abundance of the relics and a few other vestiges that still remain, and will endeavor with a limited knowledge of their original life, to portray them as denizens of the forests before their habits of life were modified by being in contact with the civilized race.

Indian Villages.—The places where the Indians had their villages or settlements can only be determined by the relics that are found at the present day. It is true that relics are found over the whole county, but they had their residences where they are found in the greatest number, and these localities are also marked by great quantities of "flint chips," which show unmistakably the places where the Indians had their workshops. The relics that are so sparsely scattered in some sections of the county were lost by the Indians when they were out in search of game. It is impossible to conjecture what was the Indian population of Berks county when they lived here in the greatest number, but judging from the number of relics that have been found, and knowing that many are not unearthed yet, we have strong proof that Berks was very densely populated along the Schuylkill and its principal branches.

Douglassville.—The relics around Douglassville are numerous, but it is difficult to locate the place where the Indians had their wigwams, because there

*Leskiel, part 1, p. 22.

is no place where any amount of "flint chips" can be found. This may be owing to the fact that much of the land along the Schuylkill lies low, and has often been flooded and thus at some places a large quantity of sand has been deposited so as to cover up the traces of the Indian village.

Neversink Station.—On Mrs. De Turek's farm, a little north-east of the station, an Indian village of considerable size must have existed. Large quantities of relics are still found there. There are several very fine springs on the farm. The Indians, in selecting places for their habitation, invariably settled near a spring. One of the lower fields in which a great variety of implements has been found, and many fragments and "chips" are scattered over the surface, is bounded partly on the north and south by immense rocks piled upon each other, which with a little bark and a few skins would protect them from the cold winds in the winter and afford them excellent shelter, while the opposite side, with its large trees and foliage, would seem to be one of the most desirable places for summer. Their wigwams were not confined to this field, because chips and relics are found over a large portion of the farm though not so copiously.

Mr. Jonas D. De Turek's farm, upon which Neversink Station is situated, was also the seat of an Indian village. His fields along the Schuylkill are full of chips and many relics are found there. In 1879 I visited Mr. De Turek, who conducted me and two others to a field that had been recently plowed, and in an hour and a half we found over a hundred specimens including a fine axe. The majority of these specimens were perfect. A little further up the Schuylkill on Mr. Christian's farm the relics are also abundant, in fact, the territory occupied by the Indians extends as far up on the east side of the Schuylkill as to the Big Dam. The chips of jasper and chalcedony are scattered profusely along the river for the distance of a mile and a half, and since these stones are not native to the place, and indicate a great deal of chipping, the village must have extended over the whole space.

Dick's Island, opposite Neversink station, was once a resort for the Indians. Much of it is washed away, but fragments of quartzite, jasper and chalcedony are lying around in large quantities. A few years ago I visited this island in company with Dr. Schoenfeld, who found an axe in the water a short distance from the shore. This was in the dry season and shows that a portion of the Island was washed away. We also found large pieces of chalcedony carried there by the Indians, from which they chipped their arrow heads.

Dick's and Lewis's Farms.—Indian relics are found along the Schuylkill, but not in such large quantities as to show that there were large villages lower down. In crossing the Schuylkill from Dick's Island we get to Dick's farm—one of the most renowned places for Indian relics, and immediately above is the farm of Mr. William Lewis, upon which many and rare specimens have been found. What has been said about Mr. De Turek's fields, also applies to these farms. More will be said about them when I give a description of the stone implements.

Poplar Neck.—There is no place in the county that is so prolific of Indian relics as Mr. Ezra High's farms. There are other localities where more

may be found, but there is none in which so many large specimens have been found in so small a circuit. Here are fine springs, the soil is very fertile and produced large crops of Indian corn, and the magnificent bend of the Schuylkill, the eligible site for a village, and the romantic scenery along the mountains, excite the admiration of civilized man, and much more enticing must it have been to the Indians when the country was dressed in its original livery.

Fritz's Island, and the farm now owned by the Reading Land and Improvement Company, were also occupied by a considerable body of Indians.

Reading.—There are evidences to prove that where the city of Reading now stands, the Indians had a large town. The city is so closely built up and the ground has been disturbed so much, that these evidences are rarely observed in the heart of the city, but in the direction of the Mineral Spring, arrow heads are still found and "chips" may be seen through the whole valley. Mr. James L. Douglas informed me that before the city was built up along the foot of Sixth street he used to find many relics, and that he with a few companions picked up an ordinary hat full of arrow heads at one time on the spot where Harbsters' Foundry now stands. This occurred immediately after the ground had been plowed. Mr. John F. Moers recently presented me a large stone hammer which he found at the foot of Spruce street while men were excavating for a building.

Tulpehocken was one of the most widely known Indian settlements in the county, and the first to be mentioned in history. This village was located a little east of Stouchsburg, principally upon land owned now by Mr. Bulp and William Rieth. Relics are, however, found over a large territory, and thus prove that the Indians must have been numerous there. There are relics found all along the Tulpehocken to the place where it empties into the Schuylkill, but nowhere so abundantly east of Stouchsburg that we have any reason to believe that there were any villages.

Bern.—In going up along the Schuylkill we find relics on every farm, and on some farms in Bern there are so many that it is not probable that the Indians lost them either in hunting or in traveling from one town to another. The Indians must have sojourned in Bern, especially east of Leinbach's Hotel, because a variety of fine implements have been found there.

Leesport, and some of the surrounding farms, especially those belonging to the Iron Company, Mr. A. H. Gernant, and John Gernant, were occupied by a large body of Indians. A large number of relics have been found there, and some varieties that have been found nowhere else in the county. Not many relics are found north of Leesport.

Moselem.—The Indians withdrew from the Schuylkill and followed the Maiden creek which by them was called Ontelaunee. Schuylkill is of Swedish origin. Dr. S. S. Haldeman says that the Indian name of the Schuylkill was Ganshowehanne, *Roaring Stream*. Rupp, however, states that, according to tradition, the Indians called the Schuylkill Manayunk, meaning *Mother*, and the branch that flows into it south of Leesport Ontelaunee, meaning Little Maiden, hence the English name Maiden creek.

Relics are found along the Maiden Creek, though not very plentifully as far up as to Moselem, there they become very abundant. A considerable dis-

tance up Moselem creek, are evidences of a dense Indian population. The Indians called the creek *Maschilamehanne*, which signified *Trout Stream*, but the successors to the Indians, thinking that this word had too many angles, ground and polished it down to Moselem.

Virginsville.—At Virginsville was one of the most extensive towns in the county. Here is where the Sacony empties into the Maiden creek. This place was called *Sacunk* by the Indians, and means *Place* or *Outlet of a Stream* but it is now applied to the stream of water that comes through that beautiful little valley from Kutztown and joins the Maiden creek here.

The relics are found over a larger extent of ground and are more varied than usual. The farms on which they appear to be most numerous, are those of Messrs. Charles Adam, Jacob Leiby, Augustus Lenhart, Simon Dreibelbis, Abraham Fink and Ephraim Dreibelbis, Esq. Relics are found north of Virginsville along the Maiden creek, though they are not met with so often. In Albany they are more plentiful, though it is not likely that there was a village of any importance north of Virginsville.

BURYING GROUNDS—Big Dam.—There are unmistakable evidences of a large Indian population formerly, and thousands of them and their implements must have been buried where they had their villages, but now there are no visible marks remaining, and comparatively little is known of their burying place, and the manner in which they interred their dead. This is readily accounted for. The places where the Indians had their villages and where they buried, were, on account of the fertility of the soil, excellence of springs and natural beauty, some of the finest places in the county. When the white people followed the Indians, they, too, would settle upon the best and most eligible land, and the places where the Indians lived were generally the first to be taken up by them. This is proved by the early settlement of Oley, Amity, Douglassville, Tulpehocken, Maxatawny and Albany. The Indians buried their dead where the ground was easily excavated with their rude implements, and this always happened to be a spot most easily cultivated, and having the best soil. Thus after the ground was plowed and harrowed several times, the mounds were leveled, and the marks by which they would still be recognized have been obliterated. There are but two burying grounds in the county that can be approximately located.

On inquiry I learned that, when the Schuylkill canal was made, the workmen dug through a burying-ground where Lewis' and Dick's farms join, a short distance below Neversink or Big Dam. I called upon Mr. William Lewis, who said that he was quite young yet when the canal was made, and that skeletons and Indian implements were dug up. He also stated that he distinctly remembers that his father brought several skulls home which were lying about the house for some time, and after the novelty was "worn away" they were used as vessels out of which the cats were fed.

Mr. S. H. Christian found a fine axe in the canal at this place, when the water was drawn off in the winter of 1879 and 1880. The water washed the ground away from a grave, and when the axe was set free it slid toward the bottom of the canal. It is probable that a number of other specimens could be found at the same place, if a careful search were made.

Blue Rocks.—There is a reputed burying-ground a few hundred yards west of the Blue Rocks, in Windsor township, about four or five miles east of Hamburg. When I heard of this a few years ago, I engaged Mr. Samuel Burkey, of Reading, who spent the early part of his life in the house nearest to the place, to conduct me to the spot. We made the first tour in the spring of 1875. We could not get the necessary digging tools in the neighborhood, because the farmers were engaged in repairing their roads; we examined the ground for a considerable distance and found a number of artificial mounds, fifteen or twenty quite close together. The external appearance was what a person would imagine to be an Indian burying ground. This place is near the base of the Blue Mountains, and about two hundred yards in the woods. Not being able to make an investigation of the mounds, we ascended Pulpit Rock, the most conspicuous point on the mountains in Windsor township, from which we admired for a long time the grandeur and sublimity of the works of nature, and after passing over the famous Blue Rocks, we returned to Reading the same day.

In the fall of 1876, I made arrangements to visit the place again, but my "colaborer" failed to make his appearance, and the day happened to be extremely hot, nothing was accomplished. In the spring of 1877, I visited the place a third time, in company with Messrs Amos S. and Alfred S. Greenawalt, of Albany. We were prepared to do a large amount of excavating, but it was in April, the ground was naturally full of water and a fine spring in the midst of the mounds, we were not able to dig sufficiently deep on account of the abundance of water. We left again without any satisfactory results. On the 29th of October, 1879, I visited the place the fourth time. This time I was accompanied by Dr. C. G. Loose, of Centre Port, to whom I am greatly indebted for his assistance in examining one of the mounds. We selected one of the most prominent ones, and one that had been dug up at a former visit. We dug down until we came to the solid ground, and widely enough to discover whether any thing was buried there. We found nothing, and decided that no Indians were buried there, but we left the place without being able to determine how those mounds were produced. If there were only several of them, they might be heaps of ground made by trees that had been blown over, but there are too many close together. They lie irregularly, the ground is loose, and generally free from stones, and is scraped up on both sides. The origin of these apparently artificial heaps of ground is a mystery.

Old Houses.—Berks as well as our neighboring counties, has made wonderful progress within the last century. The wood has been cut down, and the soil put under cultivation, and thus all the old Indian land-marks have been destroyed. The spirit of improvement and the demand for better accommodation among our progressive people, have necessitated the rasure of nearly all the old buildings that were erected to serve both as dwelling houses and forts or defenses during the time that the Indians were here. Architectural beauty received no attention. The primary object was to build houses that were durable and would insure the greatest protection to life. They were, therefore, built with thick walls and few windows, and these were invariably small. The shutters were made of

strong material well riveted together so as not to be easily battered through by the Indians, and the roofs were made of tiles, and thus it was not an easy matter to set their houses on fire. These houses were also provided with port-holes through which the people fired at the Indians when they approached them. There are but three of these houses still standing, at least only three have come under my observation.

Douglassville.—The first one built by M. I in 1716, stands at the east end of the Schuylkill bridge at Douglassville. It is certainly the oldest house in the county. Some idea may be formed of the firmness and durability of this house when it is remembered that it stands on low land, one hundred feet from the river and that it has withstood the floods of the Schuylkill more than a century and a half, and may resist the corroding elements of nature and the floods of the Schuylkill longer than buildings that are put up at the present day. In the great freshet of the second of September, 1850, the water was one foot deep on the second story, and Thomas May and his family were obliged to go into the garret for safety, if there was a place of safety in the house. This family was in this perilous situation nearly two days and a night. This family had the profoundest commiseration of the neighbors, who were ready and willing to rescue the family, but fences, trees, parts of houses, bridges, &c., were floating in the violent current, so that any persons who would have ventured upon the water, would have exposed themselves to greater dangers than Mr. May's family. Immediately above the house is a large locust tree that may have protected the house to a great extent.

"M. I. 1716" is neatly cut upon a stone in the side of the building. The stone is of a light green color, and does not resemble any mineral in Berks county. Rupp, in his History of Berks, said in 1844 that the inscription was "I. M. I. 1716." There seems to have been a character above "M. I." and if there was it is illegible now. Tradition says that there were port-holes in this house, but that after the French and Indian War, they were closed. This house has a history, and has had visitors such as no other house in the county has had. It is more than plausible that this is the house in which Allumapees, Opekasset and Manawkyhickon were guests while they awaited the arrival of the Governor in 1728. This house stands along the old Philadelphia road laid out by the Indians and was undoubtedly their first stopping place after they left Manatawny, on their way to Philadelphia.

Could the walls give a phonographic recital of the hardships of the first settlers, of the counsels with the Indians, of their treachery in 1754, of the sighs over the murder of the settlers in upper Berks and the discussions of plans and means of protection against the savages, who would not be willing to sit for hours and lend a listening ear to learn many historical details of former times, that have long since passed into oblivion?

Kurtz's House.—The second house is on the Tulpehocken Creek in Marion township, a short distance east of Reed's Church, the congregation of which was organized as early as 1729. It is a spacious house, and a sandstone in the gable bears the inscription "Johann Jacob Lash 1753," and, also a star, a heart, and another symbol which is not easily recog-

nized. Andrew Lash became the owner of this property by patent dated September 17, 1735. John Kurtz, the great grandfather of the present owners, William, James and Samuel Kurtz, purchased it April 16, 1764, since which time it has been under the proprietorship of the Kurtz family. Tradition also says that this house had port-holes, which is very credible, because it is located where often the greatest excitement and consternation were felt.

The third house stands in Albany township, on the farm of Benjamin Levan, deceased. I was informed by persons well acquainted with the premises that but a few years ago bullets were cut out of the timbers, that the Indians shot into them while they were firing at the people in the house, during the French and Indian War.

Collections of Indian Relics.

	Ornaments.	Pestles.	Celts.	Axes.	Hammers.	Spear Heads.	Arrow Heads & other Chipped Implements.	Total.
Charles A. Klink, Douglassville.....	2		1	5			500	508
Jonas D. De Turk, Neversink Station.....	4	7	5	10	12		400	438
Isaac D. De Turk, " ".....	6	4	5	11	6		2480	2512
A. J. De Turk, " ".....			3	3	3		160	169
Solomon H. Christian, " ".....	3	1	2	4			320	330
Henry D. Dick, " ".....			2	2	2		125	129
Amos Lewis, Big Dam.....	8	3	1	5	6		475	498
Ezra High, Poplar Neck.....	5	4	8	20	10	15	800	862
Cyrus R. Yost, above Poplar Neck.....	1	1			3		350	355
Charles W. Berg, Cumru.....	6	2	3	13	8	12	1410	1454
S. L. Young, Esq., Reading.....	1	5	4	40		16	200	366
Henry Weidensaul, ".....			3	4	3		150	160
I. W. Keim, ".....	2	2		2	2		100	108
D. B. Brunner, ".....	6	20		52	58	21	4350	4507
Society of Natural Science, Reading.....			2	10			200	212
J. H. Bupp, Stouchsburg.....		10		20	48		1000	1078
William Rieth, ".....		7		20	13		170	210
Franklin B. Rieth, ".....		8		2	18		300	328
H. L. Illig, Millbach.....	1			12			500	513
Howard J. Herbein, Sinking Spring.....		1		3	6		40	50
Abraham H. De Turk, Leesport.....		1		4			1200	1205
W. J. Dreibelbis, Virginsville.....				1	5		50	56
Alfred S. Dreibelbis, ".....				6	3		50	59
Abraham G. Mengel, ".....	1		1			1	100	103
Jonas J. Boyer, ".....	2			1			13	16
L. H. Leshner, Perry.....		3		4			53	60
Dr. C. Wanner, Kutztown.....		1		8	1		105	133
E. J. Sharadin, ".....		4			4	15	950	973
Samuel C. Bast, * Kutztown.....				13			500	513
William K. Deisher, Maxatawny.....			1	2	2		120	125
Walter S. Fritz, Weissersville.....				1	1		24	26
A. F. Berlin, * Allentown.....		5		20			1000	1025
	48	89	39	298	314	80	18195	19181

*Estimated.

The preceding catalogue is not intended to be a correct classification of the relics found in Berks county, but to be a statement exhibiting under a few heads, the total number at the present time. Some of the collectors began to gather specimens but recently, a few are not ambitious to make large collections, and hence accept none but the very best specimens, (this accounts for a few small collections,) while others have many more than are indicated by the figures in the catalogue, but they are specimens not from Berks—generally from the west—and cannot be described here, because this history is to be confined exclusively to the Indians and the relics of this county.

If the specimens that were but recently taken out of the county were added, the total would be largely increased. There are many single specimens of axes and small lots of arrow heads in the hands of farmers who do not make collections, but they cherish and hold on to them because they found them on their farms.

Messrs. Ezra High's, J. D. De Turck's and Isaac D. De Turck's collections have a peculiar value, because they were found on their respective farms.

Mr. Cyrus R. Yost's specimens were all found by him on the lower part of Fritz's Island, a short distance below Reading.

Mr. Charles W. Berg found his specimens on the farm of the Reading Land Improvement Company, on an area of six acres. This was also the site of an Indian village.

Major S. L. Young's collection is remarkable for its many rare specimens and large proportion of fine axes.

The collection of Mr. H. L. Illig, Millbach, Lebanon county, deserves mention here. It contains over five thousand specimens, and shows that Lebanon also had a large Indian population. Only a small portion of his collection is from Berks county.

About one third of my collection is from the vicinity of Virginsville, one third from Maxatawny, and the remainder from all parts of the county where relics are found. I have been greatly aided in making my collection, by a number of persons, and I desire here to express my thanks, for valuable specimens, to Messrs L. S. and J. D. Updegrove, of Union, F. S. Updegrove, of Monocacy Hill, J. D. and A. J. De Turck, of Exeter Station, A. D. Dick, of Cumru, H. D. G. Kuser, of New Berlin, Calvin Jackson, of Exeter, Dr. R. B. Rhoads, of Amity, D. K. High and Henry K. High, of Cumru, S. B. Knabb, of Oley, J. B. Kremer and B. F. Y. Leinbach, of Bern, Dr. Schœnfeld and B. F. Y. Shearer, Esq., of Reading, S. D. Heil, Esq., of Hereford, George Degler, of Strausstown, J. H. Hartman, of Ontelaunee, J. B. Burkey, of Bernville, Jonas Keller, of Hamburg, L. H. Leshner, of Perry, P. S. Albright, of Maiden Creek, Amos S. and Alfred S. Greenawald, and George Bolich, of Albany, and J. H. Rothermel, of Blandon.

Indian Implements.—In order to study the implements of the Indians properly, and to get a correct idea of their life, when they lived in their real aboriginal condition, it will be necessary to imagine a race of beings placed in a country abounding in wild animals, far away from all the influences of civilization, with no tools to erect houses, no axes to cut wood, no guns to shoot animals for food, no looms to weave their clothing, no plows to cultivate Indian corn, and no matches or even steel to strike fire to warm themselves during the long winter. They were compelled to erect wigwams to protect

themselves from the inclemency of the weather, and devise means to catch fish and capture wild animals for food. Entirely ignorant of the mechanical arts that have had so much to do with the rapid advancement of civilization, they were necessitated to tax their ingenuity to shape wood and stones so as to utilize them as tools. The old adage, "necessity is the mother of invention," never applied to any race so strikingly, as it did to the Indians. Not having any knowledge of the metals, they had only one material, of which they made nearly all their implements. Their axes, knives, spades, spear-heads, arrow-heads, beads, jewelry, &c., were all made of stone, and in making them, they displayed more than an ordinary degree of ingenuity, and the stones that they used for the manufacture of their utensils and ornaments, prove the fact that they had a practical knowledge of Lithology. The stones that could easily be fashioned into an ornament were useless when ground into the form of an axe, and the stones that would have made the most durable axes, were too hard to be ground into the proper shape, but were the only stones that could be chipped readily into arrow and spear-heads. The succeeding part of this history will be devoted to illustrations of Berks county relics, the manner in which they were made, and explanations of their uses as far as known.

The Indians had already relinquished many of their practices, and used implements which they had obtained from the white people at the time when our historians first began to give descriptions of their modes of life, so that in some instances it is impossible at the present day to state what were the uses of some of these implements.

Before I proceed with the description of the relics, I deem it proper to make an apology for some of the cuts. I made them for pastime during the intervals of my school, and, not having done anything in engraving on "rotten brass," or on anything else, before, I may be excused for inserting a few cuts of unskilled workmanship, which should have been recut, but it would have occasioned too much delay in the completion of this history. The cuts, however, convey correct ideas of the relics they represent.

Axes.—The axes were generally made of a hard rock, such as diabase, hornblende or pyroxenic rock, sandstone, &c. The Indians used to take a fragment of rock, which they obtained by striking one rock upon another, and after they had in this manner trimmed it down as nearly as possible to the desirable shape, they ground down all the irregularities by some process of abrasion. This they could have done by rubbing the stone to be polished, on a sandstone, or by using sand as abrasive material upon any hard stone. When we consider how slow a process this must have been, we may form some idea of the unbounded patience it must have required to grind the larger axes and pestles into shape. I have a lapidary's mill with a corundum wheel and lead wheels fed with emery and corundum, which I had driven by steam and hand power, for preparing microscopical specimens, and polishing mineral specimens of every degree of hardness except the diamond, and when I compare the present process of polishing with the mode employed by the Indians, I judge that the making of an axe was the work of weeks unless they had a process of chipping those stones unknown to mineralogists of the present day.

The question is often asked with a great deal of emphasis, how did the Indians cut wood with these axes? The Indian could not use his stone axe for

the same purpose for which we use the steel axe. Loskiel says "their hatches (or axes) were wedges made of hard stone, six or eight inches long, sharpened at the edge and fastened to a wooden handle. They were not used to fell trees, but only to peel them or to kill their enemies." The next question that arises, is how did they fell their trees? Loskiel answers again, "formerly when they had no axes but those made of stone, as above mentioned, they used to kindle a fire around large trees, and burn them so long till they fell; then by applying fire to different parts of the stem and branches, they divided them into smaller pieces for use." "Formerly they kindled a fire by turning or twisting a dry stick, with great swiftness upon a dry board, using both hands." They kept their fires constantly burning in their wigwams. It is difficult to imagine how happy the Indians must have been when they first obtained axes from the traders or settlers, with which they were enabled to manipulate their wood and erect their wigwams more expeditiously and satisfactorily. The axes were used also to girdle the trees, and take off the bark which they used to cover their huts. In making their canoes, they would cover the sides of the log with ground or other material which was constantly kept wet, and would burn out the middle. The axes are supposed to have been employed to remove the charcoal in this operation. These are the purposes for which it is generally conceded that the stone axes were adapted, but the variety of their implements was comparatively small, and they might have used their axes for various other objects.

. There are two kinds of axes, the grooved and the ungrooved. Axes of the first class have a groove near the head or "poll" into which a forked stick was put and tied together with ligatures of hides so as to hold it firmly to the axe. This stick formed the handle to the axe. No. 1 was found on Monocacy hill, and is the gift of Mr. F. S. Updegrove. This axe is made of a hard compact stone; the head and the sides are beautifully rounded and the whole implement is well polished. The axe is six inches long and three inches wide; the cut is one half the length and breadth of the axe, and hence presents only one fourth of the area. The cutting edge of the axe is scarcely an inch in length and has never been subjected to rough usage. Both sides are regularly curved, but the curvature of the one is twice as great as that of the other. If this axe was used for any other purpose than killing people, it must have been employed in taking the bark off trees. In examining a large number of axes it will be perceived that there are general principles that the Indians observed in making their axes, and yet it is impossible to find two alike. Some of the shapes may have been suggested by the fragment of rock from which they made them, others may have been shaped according to the whim of the maker, while others were probably made in a peculiar shape for a specific object. No. 2 is a specimen in the collection of Mr. L. H. Leshner, and was found near his residence in Perry township. It is made of a dioritic rock, is five and three-fourth inches long and two and three-eighths wide, and has very much the appearance of the finely crystallized aluminous pyroxene which is found in large masses on the hills in Alsace and Longswamp, though the dark crystals do not have the jet black color which characterizes the pyroxene of our rocks. The majority of the axes found in Berks county are made of the same material as No. 2,

but I am unable to tell from what county or State they were brought. On a recent trip to Philadelphia, a "skinner" that was found in S. C., was shown to me by Dr. F. A. Genth. I had a similar implement with me and on examination we found that both were so nearly alike in crystalization, that they might have been made from the same rock. The peculiarities of this axe are its straight faces and the large deep groove on three of its sides. The axe is an excellent specimen, and has no defect except a scratch made by some agricultural implement. It is generally believed that the absence of the groove on the one side is to present a straight surface to drive a wedge in, to fasten the handle more firmly, after it is tied to the axe. This form of the axe is not common in Berks.

No. 3 is a very odd form of an axe, and the only one of this peculiar shape in all the collections of the county. It is made of diorite and comes from Maxatawny. It is grooved on its two faces. The indentations on the sides appear like large grooves, but they are not. The axe was worked in that shape to give it an ornamental appearance. All irregularities on the axe are ground off, and the cutting edge and the grooves are highly polished. It is difficult to conjecture to what particular use this axe was devoted.

No. 4 is from the collection of Mr. John H. Bubb, and is made of the same mineral as No. 3. The body is very large in proportion to the poll. The groove encircles the axe and is so shallow that it must have been very difficult to fasten a handle to it to effect any hard work. This specimen belongs to a class of axes not very numerous in this county. Mr. Ezra High has the most unique specimen belonging to this class. The axe is about six inches long and of a corresponding width. On the one side the groove is about three-fourths of an inch from the top of the poll and runs obliquely to the top on the other side. It seems almost impossible to fasten a handle to it to be used for any kind of work.

No. 5 is not an axe in form, but it has a fine groove for a handle, and must have been used in the same manner as axes were used, and for this reason it is classed among them. It might also be properly classed among the hammers. It is the only specimen of the kind found in the county, and it is extremely doubtful whether a specimen equal to this in beauty of form, could be found anywhere. There is no doubt with regard to the use of this implement. The Indians tied a handle to it in the usual way and used it in the same manner as an axe in killing people. This weapon was found at Virginsville. It is four and a quarter inches long and over two inches thick and nearly round, is made of granular quartz. It was picked into shape and then the asperities were ground down so as to give it a smooth surface with the exception of small marks made by a pointed instrument.

No. 6 is in Mr. W. F. Dreibelbis's collection. This axe is very graceful in form and is remarkable for its large deep groove. It is scarcely five inches long and its groove is one inch and a quarter wide. If the handle was thick enough to fill the groove, then the axe and the handle were quite out of proportion, but it is probable that a handle of ordinary size was used, and that the groove was filled up with thongs wound around the handle.

No. 7 is the only ungrooved axe in the county. It was found by Master Harry H. Buckwalter, along the Wyomissing near Shillington, and was presented to me by the finder. The axe is well shaped, beautifully polished and has no defect or scratch except the fracture at the poll. It is difficult to conjecture what was the especial object of the ungrooved axes, because it must have been a laborious task to fasten a handle to them neatly.

No. 8 is an axe in form, but it has no cutting edge, and would be classed among the hammers if it were not thin and would have the appearance of being used as a hammer. The groove is on its faces and on one side, and runs obliquely across the implement. It is shallow on the faces but deep on the edge. This specimen was found by P. S. Albright, Esq., near Evansville.

No. 9 is one of our smallest axes, found on Mr. William Lewis's farm. It is made of a kind of red shale, is three and a half inches long, two inches wide or thick, and nearly cylindrical. The groove is deep, and the cutting edge is very blunt on account of the thickness of the axe. It could not have been used for barking trees, and was evidently employed only as a weapon in killing their enemies.

No. 10 is a specimen in the collection of S. L. Young, Esq. This axe is made of a dark diorite and is remarkable for its beautiful form, elegant polish and its unusually large groove. The axe is six and a quarter inches long, its greatest width is three and a half inches, and the groove is deep and averages nearly one and three-quarter inches. This axe is decidedly the finest specimen in the county, and was beyond a doubt the property of an Indian of high rank. It was found at Douglassville and may have been lost by one of the chiefs that remained a few days at Douglassville to await the arrival of the Governor in 1728.

No. 11 belongs to Mr. Abraham De Turk's collection, and was found on the farm of Mr. Reese Davies. It is made of a very finely crystallized diorite. Its greatest width is two and a quarter inches, its length three and a half inches, and its thickness in the middle three-quarters of an inch, gradually sloping in every direction so as to form a cutting edge all around. This implement was first chipped. The lower part is well polished, the upper is chipped very evenly and the groove extends around the implement, though it is shallow. The groove implies that it was used as an axe, otherwise it would be classed among the digging tools.

No 12 was found in Greenwich township, near Virginsville. It is three and three-quarter inches long and as wide. It is made of sandstone, well grooved and has its cutting end so blunt that it could not have been used for all the ordinary purposes of an axe.

No. 13 is an excellent specimen of a great number of axes found in Berks county, some of which slope more toward the cutting end, while others have larger polls, and, with few exceptions, are grooved all around; this one is grooved only on three sides. It was obtained near Fritztown by Dr. Schoenfeld, who kindly presented it to me. Ezra High, Esq., owns the largest axe in the county. It weighs nine pounds.

No. 14 represents the form of the tomahawk which the Indians obtained from the early settlers in exchange for skins, &c. The cut is one-half the natural size. This specimen is in the possession of Mr. H. D. Dick, and was

found immediately below Dick's farm several feet under ground, and was in all probability buried with its owner. The handle is iron, is welded to the axe and ended on the opposite side in a point, but it is broken off. The head or poll also came to a point but is now broken off. Mr. Kupp, of Unionville, also has one of these tomahawks, the handle of which is broken off, but the other parts are complete yet.

Pestles, &c.

Pestles form a numerous class of relics, and vary in length from four and a quarter inches to twenty-three inches. The majority of them were undoubtedly used for pounding and grinding corn. If this had been their exclusive use they should be classed and explained with the mill stones and grinders, but the peculiar shape and marks on some of them, show that though they are pestles in form, they were adapted to a variety of uses.

No. 15, from Maxatawny, is only a fragment. The bead around the upper end shows that it was not used for the ordinary purposes of the pestle. The missing part might have been used for grinding corn, but being made of soft light-colored shale, it is not likely that it was used for that purpose. The ornamental end would seem to imply that it was more an object of ornament than use.

No. 16 is no pestle. This is the only specimen of the kind in the county, and is described here because there is no class of implements to which it has a closer relation. It is made of very finely ground sandstone, is nearly six inches long, two inches wide and its greatest thickness is one and a half inches. It is difficult to conjecture what could have been its use. The curvature of the handle adapts it well to the hand but the faces at the edge form such a large angle that it is too dull for a skinning knife. It might have been used in tanning skins. The implement has a good polish and has no marks to indicate its use.

No. 17 is a specimen in the collection of Mr. J. D. De Turck, Neversink Station. This implement is made of red shale. It is ten inches long and its greatest width is two and five-eighths inches, and its greatest thickness is nearly two inches. The whole of its surface, except a small spot, is well polished. The thicker end shows that it was never used for grinding corn. The thinner end has the form of a handle and is smoother than the other end. It is probable that this was one of the war clubs.

No. 18, the gift of Mr. L. S. Updegrove, of Union township, is a true pestle, but pestles of this form are rare. It is made of a hard, uncrystallized rock. Its entire length is eighteen and a half inches, its greatest thickness is two and a quarter inches. The pestle is round and tapers off beautifully until it comes nearly to a point. The lower end shows that the pestle was used for grinding corn, while the upper end is worn particularly smooth by the hand and is an evidence that the pestle was much in use.

No. 19 was found in Bern township, and is a present from B. F. Y. Shearer, Esq. It is made of a piece of solid shale, is eighteen inches long, two and three-quarter inches wide and two inches thick. The upper and lower faces are planes, but the sides and ends are curved and the angles are rounded off. The shape in which the ends are worn, indicates the position in which the pestle was held, and also shows that it was subjected to a great deal

of use. The faces are as smooth as any ordinary stratified rock. The sides were pecked into shape and then ground until nearly all the marks of pecking had disappeared.

No. 20 is from the farm of Mr. L. S. Updegrove. This relic is elliptical in both of its dimensions. Its length is fourteen and a half inches. The greater diameter (width) in the middle is three and a quarter inches, and its less diameter (thickness) is one and a half inches. The mineral of which it is made is red shale. The implement has an ordinary polish, no imperfection except an accidental fracture at one of the ends, and has no marks of any usage. I am entirely at a loss to form any idea for what purposes this specimen could have been intended. The stone is too soft to grind corn and could not have been used for the performance of any hard work, and yet on account of its want of intrinsic beauty and high polish, it could scarcely have been used only as "a thing of beauty."

No. 21 is another utensil in the form a pestle, but was never used as such. Its length is ten and a half inches, and its width and thickness a little over two inches. The ends are round and very smooth, worn so by the hand in using the utensil. The body is not cylindrical. It is a little irregular in shape, and has the appearance of having been in long continued use for rubbing. It has no scratches and hence it could not have been used for polishing stones. Its surface is quite smooth, and it is highly probable that this instrument was used to rub the skins soft while they were undergoing the process of tanning.

No. 22 is an ordinary cobble-stone six and a half inches in length. It has two small cavities on the opposite sides for the insertion of the fingers. The lower end is battered somewhat by use. It is a very compact granular quartz, well adapted to the hand by its peculiar shape, and may have been used a long time for pounding corn. The specimen belongs to Mr. I. D. DeTurck's collection. There are several other pestles with small cavities, in the county.

No. 23 is the general form of the pestle. This cut represents three-fourths of the pestles in the county. Some are cylindrical and differ only in length and diameter. The longest pestle is twenty-three inches in length, two and a half inches in diameter at the thickest end and tapering a little toward the other. No. 23 is shaped regularly, well polished, and could never have been used as a pestle or a utensil, because, if it had been employed as a pestle or utensil, it would have some marks by which its use could be conjectured. This relic was found by Ezra High, Esq., on his farm, and at the same place two ovoidal stones (Fig. 24). These ovoidal stones are made of a hard yellow colored serpentine, well polished and as nearly in the form of an egg as it was possible for an Indian to make them. They are two and three-quarter inches long. After a close examination of the relics and books on Indian worship, I came to the same conclusion as Mr. High, that these relics represented one of their objects of worship.

Celts.

The implements next in order that bear some resemblance to the axes, are the celts, so called from *cellis*, a chisel. They vary in length from four to seven and a half inches. A cross section of the celt is generally elliptical, and the end that was held in the hand, is tapering and beautifully rounded.

Some of these relics have nearly the form of a modern "cold chisel," but it is evident that they were never used as such, because the edges of the Berks county specimens, with very few exceptions, are in the best condition and bear evidence of the fact that they were never used to work hard material, and there is not one that has any marks to show that it was ever used with a hammer or mallet. It is not definitely known for what various purposes the celts were used, but it is generally supposed that they were employed in the skinning and dressing of animals. The celt was a cutting tool and was undoubtedly employed whenever it could be used as such to advantage. The cuts of the celts are one-half of the natural size of the specimens.

No. 25 is an excellent specimen found in Windsor, in the vicinity of Hamburg, and was presented to the writer by Mr. Jonas Keller. It is made of a solid piece of slate. The semicircular edge is as sharp as it is possible to make it. The celt, except where it is chipped, is highly polished. It can scarcely be regarded a supposition to say that it was at one time a perfect specimen, but the owner desiring a thinner handle, took it to an Indian artisan to have it chipped down and polished, but after the first operation the celt was lost or mislaid.

No. 26 was found on or near the farm of Conrad Weiser, and is now in the possession of I. Y. Kintzer, Esq., of Womelsdorf. It is made of diorite, is seven and five-eighths inches long, and is decidedly the finest specimen in the county. It appears from certain marks that the specimen was first pecked into shape and then ground off until it had the polish usually given to dioritic specimens.

Nos. 27 and 28 are made of the same material as No. 26. Both are excellent specimens. The former was found on Dick's farm, and is a present from Mr. A. D. Dick, and the latter is from Maxatawny. No. 29 is in Mr. Bulp's collection. The mineral of which it is made is slate, and is the smallest in the county. The handle or body is not round or oval in its cross section, but it is four-sided, and the sides are nearly straight and nearly plane surfaces. This is the only specimen of this description in the county.

Hammers.

The hammers of the Indians form a large class and are so multifarious that it will be impossible to give a cut of each form, neither is that necessary. Some are manipulated nearly into the form of a modern mallet, the second class consists of hammers used to pound and grind their corn, and the third is a nondescript class the use of which it is difficult to determine.

No. 30 is a very fine specimen of the grooved hammer. It was found on Mr. Leinbach's farm in Bern township, and was presented to me by Mr. B. F. Y. Leinbach. This hammer is five and a-half inches in length, one and three-eighths inches thick and is nearly round. It is made of red shale and has the usual polish. This hammer could not have been devoted to any rough or heavy work on account of the softness of the material of which it is made; neither does it bear any mark of such usage. The most rational conclusion seems to be that it was used as a weapon in killing their enemies. This style of hammer is not very common in Berks county.

No. 31 is another kind of grooved hammer in Mr. A. H. DeTurck's col-

lection. It is made of granular quartz. Its length is four inches and its greatest width is one and a quarter inches. The only use that can be assigned to this hammer is the same as the preceding specimen.

No. 32 is also a specimen in the collection of Mr. Abraham H. De-Turck, who found it on the farm of Mr. Charles Forney, in Ontelaunee township. This hammer is made of a pebble nearly four inches in diameter and one and three-quarter inches thick. Both sides are worn off considerably by being used in grinding corn. There is a hole drilled through the middle. For one-third of the thickness of the stone the diameter of the hole is five-eighths of an inch, the remainder of the bore is only three-eighths of an inch in diameter. A wooden handle was put into the hole and then it was used to pound corn. This is evident from the fact that the whole circumference of the hammer is worn off a great deal. This stone was used by the Indians as a hammer to crush their corn, and then as an upper mill-stone to grind it. This is the only one of the kind in the county.

No. 33 is a peculiar form of hammer and represents only a small class. Hammers of this class are in nearly all cases cylindrical, and this is the only one in the form of the frustum of a cone. Its length is two and three-eighth inches and the greater diameter is two and a quarter inches. It seems to have been a difficult task to attach a handle to it, but the Indians accomplished it by means of thongs. No. 33 is from Maxatawny.

No. 34 is a sphere of hard stone two and a-half inches in diameter. It is exact in its rotundity, well polished, and must have been a masterpiece of Indian skill. This is not a real hammer. The Indians used to encase these balls in raw hides and attach them firmly to a handle which they used as a war club. No. 34 is in Major S. L. Young's collection. Mr. H. Weidensaul has one in his possession that is larger but not so perfect.

The second class of hammers is by far the most numerous. They are generally made of pebbles and hence they vary much in form. When the pebble is not thick it has a cavity on each side for the insertion of a finger to hold it firmly. When it is thick it has a cavity on three sides, and when it is long, it has a cavity on one side for the thumb and three on the other side for fingers. These hammers were used to crush the corn, and were always held in the hand. More of these hammers have been found on the farms of Ephraim Dreibelbis, Esq., and Mr. Simon Dreibelbis, Virginsville, than any other two farms in the county.

No. 35 is a very good specimen of this class of hammers. It is from the farm of Mr. S. B. Knabb, of Oley. It has a large deep cavity on each side so as to grasp a firm hold, and the edge of the stone shows that it was used a great deal.

No. 36 is another excellent specimen of this class. The edge and the cavity on the one side show that it was first used as a hammer to pound the corn and afterwards it was used as an upper mill-stone until the cavity on the one side was worn entirely away. This specimen is from the Big Dam.

The third class of hammers consists of a variety of implements that bear evidences of having been used for pounding, though it is impossible to surmise for what particular objects they were employed. Some are mere pebbles,

while others are worked into a certain shape. No. 37 represents a small class of these hammers. I have three in my collection, though only one is a perfect specimen.

Quoits.

The Indians, like all other races, had their amusements and games. It is not known what was the nature of their amusements, nor what was the variety and character of their games, but a number of relics that are found in the county, show conclusively by their forms that they were used as quoits. No. 38 would at first sight appear to be a hammer of the second class, but the stone is thin along the edge and has no marks of having been used as a hammer and must therefore be classed among the quoits. Some are only the ordinary pebbles with cavities, such as are found along creeks and rivers, while others are worked into proper shape so as to adapt them well to the hand for throwing. No. 39 is from Maxatawny and is a very excellent specimen. It is made of granular quartz and has a fine polish. The quoit has a cavity on the upper side for the thumb, and the lower side is round, and thus it is well fitted to the hand for throwing. No. 40 is a lateral view of the quoit. The cut is one-half the natural size.

There are many other relics of a similar character found, though they do not have any cavity. Some of them are ellipsoids, while others are nearly circular in one dimension and elliptical in any of their cross-sections. They could not have been used as utensils, because they are well polished and bear no marks of usage. It is impossible to say with any degree of certainty what was the object of these relics.

Millstones.

Loskiel gives twelve ways in which the Indians prepared their corn. It might be interesting to the readers to give all the methods, but since only a few have reference to the subject under consideration, only three will be quoted: "1st. They pound it small and boil it. 2d. They grind it as fine as flour by means of a wooden pestle and mortar, clear it from the husks and make a thick pottage of it; and 3d. They knead the flour with cold water, and make cakes about a hand's breadth, and an inch thick. These they enclose in leaves and bake in hot ashes, putting live coals upon them; and use them as bread."* The hammers of the second class were used to pound the corn and the pestles, either stone or wooden, as well as some of the hand hammers, were employed as upper mill-stones to grind the corn to flour. The lower millstone was generally some convenient and suitable stone without having any reference to shape except a flat side for grinding. Many of the larger stones have been put into fences or destroyed in the removal of rocks, but a number of the smaller ones are still in existence to give us a good idea of the mills of the Indians. No. 41 is a very good specimen in Mr. A. J. Deturek's collection. The stone is nine inches long and wide and five inches thick. There is nothing artificial about the stone except the cavity in the top worn by long use. No. 42 is from Dick's farm. It should probably not be classed among the lower mill-stones. It was used for grinding corn or for a similar purpose, but the specimen is ground into an ornamental shape and is *well polished*. It is six and a half inches long and hence rather small for a

millstone, but it may have been used to prepare their vermilion which they used in painting their skin.

Mortars.

The stones described under the preceding head are large with shallow cavities, while the mortars are small and have a deep cavity. They were undoubtedly intended for various purposes, but it is probable that the principal object was the preparation of some pigment for their faces. "Vermilion is their favorite color, with which they frequently paint their whole heads. Here and there black streaks are introduced, or they paint one-half of their face and head black and the other red."† These mortars were especially used for the preparation of this paint which the Indians valued so highly, and which they often went a great distance to obtain.

No. 43 is a very fine specimen of mortar in Maj. S. L. Young's collection. It is made of calcite. The upper face is ground even with a groove for emptying the contents, the lower, round, but they are not polished; the marks of coarse sand used in abrading the stone to the desired shape, are distinctly visible. The mortar does not appear to have been finished, because the sides and ends received very little attention from the maker, who intended to make the body of the mortar circular. The apparent fracture on the left side was made by sawing into the stone and breaking out a fragment. The cut seems to indicate that the saw was a leather string or thong fed with fine sand. This specimen was found in Maiden creek.

No. 44 is another fine specimen made of a pebble. The lower side is ground flat so as to give it a firm base to stand upon. The cavity is not concave like that of other mortars, but it is as wide at the bottom as at the top, and is half an inch deep. The cavity was made by drilling holes from an eighth to a quarter of an inch apart and then by breaking and chiseling out the parts remaining. The marks and core of a few holes that were drilled deeper than the others show that the drill was a reed or a tube-like instrument, three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter and the core was half the size of the drill. This mortar was found on the farm belonging to the Leesport Iron Company and is in Mr. DeTurek's collection.

No. 45 represents the natural size of a mortar that is more common in the county. The one represented by the cut was found at the base of Monocacy Hill. Mr. S. H. Christian found two similar specimens on the Christian farm, a short distance below the Big Dam. These mortars are made of hard brown-colored pebbles. The outside of No. 45 is beautifully polished, and the inside is smooth, but the color instead of being deep brown like the outside, is light yellow. The color, both inside and outside, differs from the natural color of the pebble, and it is not a mere conjecture to say that this was a mortar in which the Indians mixed their paint. The difference in color can easily be accounted for. A long use in the preparation of vermilion or red ochre and a long exposure to the weather or burial under ground, must have given it the brown color and the use of yellow ochre must have given the inside the yellow color. It is probable that it contained yellow ochre when it was lost.

The Indians had their doctors who with their peculiar medicines and modes of treating patients may have alleviated the sufferings of their fellow men with more skill than civilized people generally believe that they had. It is doubtful whether they knew anything about a system of chemistry, and yet it is credible that they had their laboratories, and that they made many compounds of medical ingredients that were never brought to the knowledge of the white people. That they manufactured and used some kind of acid is proved by No. 46. This mortar is made of a pebble upon which acid acts slightly. The outside of the mortar is smooth and solid, but the inside surface is rotten as though it had been exposed to acid. There is no doubt but that this mortar was used to make acid compounds and that its long use corroded the stone until it was worn entirely through.

Barking Tool.

The Indians prepared bark to cover their huts in the following manner: "They peel trees, abounding with sap, such as lime trees, &c., then cutting the bark into pieces of two or three yards in length, they lay heavy stones upon them that they may become flat and even in drying."* The axes were used for girdling the trees and in most cases in barking them. No. 47 is an implement found by Mr. J. D. DeTurck on his farm, which was used for the purpose of taking the bark off the trees. It is seven and a half inches long, two and a half inches wide and nearly an inch thick in the middle, from which it tapers gradually to the ends and sides. This utensil is made of diorite and when fastened to a handle, it somewhat resembled the tools now in use for the same purpose. No. 48 is a longitudinal section of the implement.

Polishing Stones.

Nearly every collector in the county has some relics that are marked with grooves or notches that were produced by sharpening or grinding tools or rounding cords for bow strings. These relics are generally irregular in their form and include a variety of minerals. No. 49 is a pebble from the Big Dam. The mineral is a granular quartz. The lower surface is flat and nearly one-half of the stone is worn away by rubbing it upon some hard object. No. 50 represents a relic that is more common in Berks county. This specimen is from Mr. J. D. DeTurck's collection. Messrs. E. J. Sharadin and A. J. DeTurck have specimens with more grooves and on both sides of the stone. Some of the grooves are rough and have the appearance of having been used in connection with sand as an abrasive material, while others are smooth and must have been used to put on the final polish. These stones vary in grit from a very fine to a coarse whetstone.

No. 51 must have been devoted to some especial purpose, because the handle is ground into a beautiful shape and is polished as well as red shale, the material of which this specimen is made, can be polished. It is four and a quarter inches in length, two and a quarter in width and three quarters of an inch in thickness.

*Loskiel, part 1, p. 53.

No. 52 is a beautifully shaped pebble with an oblique face which is rather too straight and even for a polishing stone, but it is impossible to imagine for what other purpose it could have been used. The mineral is a granular quartz and was used very effectively in roughing off large implements. The specimen is in Mr. C. A. Klink's possession.

No. 53 is a relic that is rarely met with in the county. It may not be proper to class it among the polishing stones, but its use is similar, and hence it is described here. The stone has a number of small grooves along the edge which were worn in by some pliable object as a string. This implement was used to round cords and thongs for bow-strings. It is made of shale and the fracture at the lower end shows that it had a handle when it was complete. Mr. Jared Huntzinger found this relic on his farm a mile south of Wernersville.

Sinkers and Pendants.

Sinkers and Pendants are names that have been applied to a class of well shaped and polished relics which were intended for suspension, and it is generally believed that the Indians used to attach the smaller ones to their fish lines. There are many larger ones made of pebbles four and five inches in length with notches at the sides by which they could be firmly attached to a net, if the Indians had such means for catching fish.

No. 54 is symmetrical in its form and resembles a carpenter's plummet of the present day. It is made of a hard mineral and is the only one of the kind in the county. Mr. E. J. Sharadin, of Kutztown, is the fortunate owner of it.

No. 55 represents two pendants in Mr. Ezra High's collection. They are beautiful cylindrical pebbles with no work upon them except a hole that is drilled near the end. The peculiarity of No. 56 consists in its globular form. It is made of a fine-grained sandstone and has an ordinary polish. The specimen was found in the vicinity of Leesport and is in Mr. A. H. DeTurek's collection. No. 57 is a relic that is more common. The sinkers of this class are made of a hard compact rock with a groove entirely around them and they are generally well polished. The cut of No. 57 is half the natural size, the others are of the natural size.

Scalping Knives.

It was the custom among the Indians to scalp those that fell into their hands in war. When they began to trade and barter with the white people it is probable that they performed this barbarous operation with knives that they had obtained from them, but before such close relations existed between the white people and the Indians, they must have scalped their victims with stone knives. A few of these knives have been found in Berks.

No. 58 is undoubtedly a genuine scalping knife. The sharp edge, the prominent point of the blade, a peculiar curve in the blade and the handle seem to adapt the knife to the purpose of scalping and confirm the belief that it was the object for which it was exclusively intended. It is made of a species of very hard carbonate of lime. There is scratched on it with a steel point "Found by John H. Gernant July 11, 1850." Mr. Gernant lives at Leesport, but this very rare and valuable specimen is now in the possession of S. L. Young, Esq., of Reading. The knife is $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length.

No. 59 is a knife that was evidently used for the same purpose. It is made of the same mineral as No. 58. It is three and a quarter inches long, one and a-half inches wide and three-eighths of an inch thick in the middle from which it is rounded off toward the sides so as to form a kind of edge around the whole knife. The implement is highly polished and the point of the knife is still almost as sharp as it is possible to make it. It was found at Stouchsburg, and belongs to Mr. J. H. Bupp.

Tablets or Plates.

Nearly every collector in the county has a variety of aboriginal relics that are made of pieces of slate worked into ornamental shapes and pierced with one or two holes. There is very little known of the use of these relics. Some writers maintain that there were strings put through the holes and that they were worn as ornaments, while others suppose that they were used in rounding bow-strings by drawing them through the holes. Neither of these theories can be correct with regard to the Berks county specimens, because these plates are made of soft stones, and in most cases the drilling was performed on both sides, thus leaving a ridge in the middle which would have been worn off by suspension at a string. In the absence of such evidence we must conclude that many of our specimens had either not been in use or they were designed for a purpose entirely unknown to us.

No. 60, a relic in the hands of Mr. Jonas J. Boyer, of Virginsville, is a perfect specimen of an unusual form. It is exceedingly rare to find so large a specimen with but one hole. This tablet is made of brown slate and is well polished. It is three-eighths of an inch in thickness and its faces are planes. The cut represents the natural length and width. No. 61 is in Mr. Ezra High's collection, and differs from No. 60 in shape and quality of slate. This specimen is not symmetrical in form, and in addition to its high polish it has two perforations and a number of notches at each end. Since these notches are not on every specimen of the kind, they must have had their peculiar significance and they give occasion to a great deal of conjecture among archaeologists with regard to their meaning.

No. 62, from Maj. S. L. Young's collection, is made of a hard greenish slate, and is so well preserved that its polish has still a beautiful gloss. The specimen is an excellent one and its form is not common. No. 63, from Mr. J. D. DeTurek's collection, represents, in its form, the largest class of stone tablets, but it is unique on account of its numerous marks. This specimen has two holes which were drilled on opposite sides, meeting in the middle, though not concentrically. The cutting edges of the drill made an angle of about seventy degrees, and this left an inequality in the middle of the stone similar to a thread in a nut, which is as acute as though the drilling had been done recently. In addition to the two grooves across the upper side it has ten distinct cuts or small notches along one of its sides and forty along the edges on the lower side. This tablet was evidently intended as a badge of distinction. The numerous small marks may have been put on as ornaments, but it is more probable that they were characteristics that denoted some title or rank. No. 64 is from Mr. E. J. Sharadin's collection. Mr. A. H. DeTurek, of Leesport, has a specimen precisely like it. It is an ordinary pebble whose natural size is represented by the cut and its thickness is three-

ixteenths of an inch. The hole is of a uniform diameter. It is plausible that this relic was worn as an ornament or a charm, but it has neither polish nor beauty.

Nos. 65 and 66, from Major S. L. Young's collection, were evidently charms. The cuts represent their natural sizes. No. 65 is from Union township. It is made of dark slate and is worn considerably at the holes by being suspended at a string. No. 66 resembles a fossil nut in its form, but it is no fossil, it is artificial. This is a very rare and unique relic. It is made of purely white calcite, and there is a hole drilled into it nearly three-sixteenths of an inch in diameter and half an inch deep, into which a string or piece of wood was wedged by which it was suspended. This relic was found near Morgantown.

Digging Tools.

The Indians subsisted principally upon the fish and the wild animals they caught, but they cultivated patches of corn and for this purpose they needed utensils. These like their other implements were made of stones, and enough of them have been found to form some idea of the farming operations of the Aborigines of Berks county. Cuts, one-half the natural size, will be given of a few varieties of these tools.

No. 67 is the most elaborate spade in the county, found on Mr. William Lewis's farm below the Big Dam, and is a perfect specimen except a fracture at the narrow end. The mineral of which it is made is diorite. The spade is well shaped and polished on all sides, and its edge is as sharp as that of a stone axe. Its length is five and a-half inches, its breadth is nearly four inches and its thickness is three-fourths of an inch. A wooden handle was fastened to the narrow end by means of strips of raw hide, and then, in the absence of steel spades, this must have been one of their most serviceable digging utensils. No. 68 represents the outlines of two spades of precisely the same size, in the possession of Mr. W. K. Deisher, near Kutztown. They are made of quartzite and with one exception they are the largest chipped relics found thus far. No. 69 is a shovel or digging tool intended to be used with the hand. It is made of shale and has a handle chipped to it by which it can be grasped firmly. This specimen is chipped roughly and is without any polish. No. 70 is another style, made of quartzite. The lower side is nearly flat, but the upper side, or the one represented by the figure, is chipped and considerably elevated in the middle. The sides are concave at the narrow end and this enabled the Indians to fasten the spade more securely to the handle. This relic belongs to Mr. William Rieth, of Stouchsburg.

Among the digging tools may be classed a variety of implements generally denominated hoes. Some are made of slate, others of jasper, and generally have large notches in the sides. Owing to a similarity in these relics it is deemed sufficient to figure but one specimen, No. 71, found on Mr. Ezra High's farm. It is a fragment of a rock, chipped as represented by the cut. Its length is five inches and width four inches.

Ceremonial Weapons.

There is no class of Indian relics about which there seems to be so much doubt with regard to their use, as the relics that are now to be described.

Prof. Rau calls them *Drilled Ceremonial Weapons*. In some parts of Berks they are erroneously called tomahawks. They are made of all kinds of stones except jasper, though most of them are made of slate, serpentine, &c. The majority have a large hole drilled laterally through the middle by which the implement was nearly cut off and so weakened that it could not have been intended for any violent use. Besides, they were generally made of the softer stones, and the fragments that have come under my observation are all perfect at the ends, where they would certainly bear evidence of use, had they been used for any other purpose than ceremonies. The Indians displayed the same variety of taste in their ceremonial weapons as they did in their other implements. Owing to the fragile material and the peculiar form of these relics very few perfect specimens are found. A number have been found that are pecked, but not polished and drilled, from which we may safely conclude that they are unfinished specimens.

No. 72 is a perfect specimen—the finest in the county. It was found by Mr. Amos Lewis on Mr. William Lewis's farm. It is made of diorite and is highly polished. It is five and a quarter inches long and a quarter of an inch thick in the middle of the "wing", gradually sloping toward the edge where it is only an eighth of an inch thick and gracefully rounded. The hole is both five-eighths of an inch in diameter and depth. That the drilling was done by means of a reed and sand is evident from the fact that the thickness of the reed is distinctly marked, and a small piece of the core is still remaining. The symmetrical form of this relic, its fine polish and accurate drilling display a great deal of Indian skill and patience.

No. 73 (E. J. Sharadin's collection) is a symmetrically shaped relic of brown slate. The hole is half an inch in diameter and extends through the whole length of the stone. The specimen has a good polish and is perfect except a small fracture at the edge and one at the under surface, produced apparently by driving a stick into the hole. No. 74 is from the same collection. When it was complete it differed very little in its form from No. 72. This specimen is made of very dark serpentine and the lateral hole was drilled entirely through it. Many fragments of this class of relics have a conical hole drilled from the opposite faces and meeting in the middle, and appear to have been used for the same purposes and in the same manner as the relics denominated *Ceremonial Weapons*. This specimen has also zigzag lines running nearly parallel with the straight side.

No. 75 differs from the preceding ones in form, but the drilling corresponds with No. 74. It is made of a beautiful light green slate abundant in Albany township, and when it came into my possession some years ago there was written on it "Dug out of an Indian grave on Mr. Deisher's farm in Maxatawny township, Berks county." The next two came from the same place and are made of the same kind of slate. No. 76 may not be the half of a specimen, since it is broken off at both ends. It is three-fourths of an inch thick at the drilled end and tapers but little toward the other end. The hole is conical and only three-eighths of an inch deep. It is probable that the drilling was not completed. No. 77 is evidently one-half of a relic. It is five-eighths of an inch thick, tapers very little toward the end, but the fractured part tapers toward the sides so as to become very thin. The shapes of these relics show conclusively that they were not drilled laterally. No. 78 is so small a frag-

ment that it is impossible to determine the size and shape of the relic of which it is a part.

Some archaeologists believe that these relics were used among the Indians in the same manner as banners are used among the civilized people. This theory is very plausible. The thinness of these relics in the middle and the fragile material of which they were generally made, prove the fact that they were employed exclusively for ceremonial or ornamental purposes, and the hole in the middle at once corroborates the idea that a stick was inserted and that the relic was carried in their processions like a banner. If all the specimens were drilled that they could have been put upon sticks and borne like banners, no valid objections could be offered against this theory, but there are some that have shallow holes, drilled with a triangular drill. No. 79 differs in shape from those that have been described, but this is no material point, since the forms of the relics were often suggested by the blocks from which they were made or by the fancy of the maker. The distinguishing characteristic of this specimen is the conical hole, half an inch in diameter and nearly half an inch deep. The hole was evidently drilled with a triangular drill which will be described under "Drilling Tools." This relic is made of black serpentine, which was first pecked and then polished; a number of the marks of the pecking tool are still visible. It is a perfect specimen, well preserved and belongs to the collection of Dr. Cyrus Wanner, of Kutztown.

One of the most forcible objections to the universal use of these relics as banners, is presented by Figure 80. I have deemed it proper to present the natural size of the specimen, because it is an excellent one, and by far the largest in the county. It is made of aluminous pyroxene, is ground smooth, though not polished. It might be argued that the last two specimens were not finished, but the forms of these relics furnish indubitable proof that they were. The large holes were of a uniform diameter, and had No. 79 been drilled in this manner the drill would have cut through at the sides, half an inch before reaching the opposite end, owing to the thinness of the stone. No. 80 was evidently intended not to be drilled at all, because at *a*, where the drilling was commenced, the relic is rounded off most gracefully and is thinner, whereas the drilled specimens are all thicker at that place. On the opposite side at *b*, the relic is also rounded, but it is thicker and a hole might have been drilled from that side, but in that event the drill would have defaced the side *a*, because of its thinness. I am therefore of the opinion that these two specimens were not intended to be used as banners; the others might have been, but I shall not venture to conjecture for what purposes the Indians designed them.

Tanning.

There are implements found in the county which, in all probability, were used in the art of tanning. Very little is known of the process used by the Indians to prepare bear and deer skins for shoes and clothing. Loskiel says "their shoes are of deer skin, without heels, some being very neatly made by the women. Their skins are tanned with the brains of deer, which make them very soft; some leave the fur upon the skin, and such fur shoes are remarkably light and easy." The buffalo robes sold by our furriers as tanned

by the Indians, are softer than those that are tanned by civilized people. During the process of tanning the skins required scraping and rubbing, and for this purpose the *celts* might have been used to some extent, but the following implements, in view of their peculiar shape and evidence of use, are denominated *tanning* tools.

No. 81 (Dr. Cyrus Wanner's) is made of hard shale. It is five and a quarter inches long and three and a-half inches at its greatest width, and nearly an inch thick in the middle, sloping gradually toward the edge, which is rounded and has the appearance of having been used in rubbing some soft substance, as skins, &c. No. 82 is a very fine specimen of slate, three eighths of an inch thick and tapering gracefully towards the ends and sides so as to form a cutting edge all around the implement. It is highly polished and is especially smooth along the edge. This utensil was undoubtedly used to scrape and clean the skins of useless matter. No. 83 (Mr. Ezra High's) is a pebble in the form of a triangular prism whose ends and edges are rounded. Two small cavities are pecked into one side, into which fingers can be placed and the pebble grasped firmly. The relic is smooth and was evidently used to rub soft material, and for this reason it is classed among the tanning tools.

Beads and Shells.

There were no ornaments among the Indians, that were more highly prized by them than beads, and a string of beads of brilliant colors appears to have been as much an object of desire and admiration as a diamond necklace among the civilized races. It is credible that the Indians of Berks had many of them, but they were small and for this reason only a few have been found except those obtained from Indian graves. The cuts represent the natural sizes.

Nos. 84 to 90 are from Mr. E. J. Sharadin's collection. No. 84 is of brown slate well polished but not drilled, though centered at both ends for that purpose. Nos. 85, 86 and 87 are specimens from a string of sixteen beads of white, green, blue and red colors. There are five (No. 85) with eight pentagonal faces. The two largest (No. 86) are made of enamel, the others are all of glass, of which No. 87 is the smallest. No. 88 is of soap-stone and notched at the circumference. The hole is large and elliptical and may not have been used as a bead by the Indians. Mr. William Rieth, of Stouchsburg, has one precisely like it. No. 89 is made of slate. It is the only one of this form, and is an excellent specimen except a small fracture at the larger end. The hole is three-eighths of an inch in diameter. No. 90 (J. J. Boyer's) is of serpentine and differs from all others in having a groove around the middle.

Shells were used for ornamental and decorative purposes as well as to make their wampum. No. 91 (Dr. Wanner's) is the only shell that I found in the county. It is three and a-quarter inches long and three inches wide. The shell is very thin along the edge and somewhat decayed and may have had quite a different shape when it was in the hands of the Indians. In addition to the three holes in the shell there are six punctures in a straight line across the shell. These punctures are certainly significant and might convey very interesting information if they could be deciphered.

Copper Implements.

Copper relics are not numerous in Berks. The Indians knew nothing about the process of obtaining copper from the ores and hence they could make cop-

per implements only when they had the native element, which appears to have been found very sparingly in N. J., but very abundantly along Lake Superior. It is probable that the copper was brought from Lake Superior, and this belief is corroborated by the fact that a number of arrowheads have been found in the county that are made of flint from the Western States. Only four copper relics are known to have been found in the county. Prof. I. B. Hankey obtained a copper axe found in the vicinity of Friedensburg, when he was principal of Oley Academy. It was placed in Dr. Bertolet's collection, and after the Doctor's death his collection was moved out of the county and no one now knows where it is. Mr. J. D. DeTurck found two relics—one a chisel two and a-half inches long, one inch wide, and three-eighths of an inch at the top and gradually tapering to a fine edge, and the other a knife three inches long with a projection opposite to the edge, for the attachment of a handle which, when completed, resembled the gibblous knife used by saddlers. Both of these implements were borrowed by collectors a few years ago and they have not yet found it convenient to return them.

No. 92 is the only tangible specimen, and is in the hands of Mr. H. D. Dick, by whom it was found on the Dick farm. This relic is a gouge, and as far as known it is the only implement of this form in the county. Its length is six and a-half inches, its width in the middle one and five-eighths, tapering towards the ends, and weighs nearly one pound and three ounces. It does not appear that this implement was ever used with a hammer or mallet. The edge is blunted a little, but it appears as though that had been done recently.

Pottery.

Bowls, pots and kettles were as essential in the Indian household as in that of the white man. Before they purchased these from the traders or took them in payment for land, they were obliged to make them in their own peculiar way. No entire specimen have been found, but fragments sufficiently large to determine the size of some of the vessels and the processes by which they were made. They made their "earthenware" either by cutting the vessel out of a solid block of soapstone, or by making a mixture of clay, silica, &c., and forming it into the shape of the vessel and burning it in a manner similar to that followed in the potteries of the present day. No. 93 (Mr. William Rieth's, of Stouchsburg) represents a fragment and the relative dimensions of a bowl cut out of a solid block of soapstone. The fragment is five and a-half inches long, three and a quarter inches wide and half an inch thick, and its curvature is the arc of an ellipse whose longer diameter is nine inches and the shorter six inches. Its depth was about three and a-half inches. The fragment has also a large ear by which it could be seized and carried. Mr. Jonas D. DeTurck found on his farm a piece of soapstone vessel which is not quite as thick as the preceding one and is a part of a vessel not so large in circumference but greater in depth.

All crockery is fragile and for this reason only small pieces of Indian earthenware can be found. It is also probable that the Indians paid little attention to pottery after the advent of the whites, from whom they obtained copper kettles and other vessels, which were more durable and attractive. Whenever Penn made presents to the Indians copper kettles were included.

The old DeTurck farm and Mr. J. D. DeTurck's farm are the only places where pieces of pottery have been found as far as my knowledge extends. These pieces are composed of sand, clay and small pieces of mica. Mr. DeTurck states that after plowing a field near the Schuylkill river, there is a black circular spot on which he finds many pieces of pottery. This was unquestionably the place where the Indians made and burned their pottery. Nos. 94, 95 and 96 are specimens (natural size) from this locality. It was the custom among the Indians to ornament their earthenware with ornamental lines and figures. No two of the many fragments that have been found are alike. Most of the pieces of pottery are solid yet, and when we consider that they were exposed to the weather at least one hundred and fifty years, we must conclude that the Indians had a process of making a plastic material which, when burned, formed durable vessels. It is much to be lamented that the relics of these culinary implements are so few and imperfect, that we cannot form any idea of their size and variety.

Pipes.

"Tobacco is an Indian weed" and was considered by them "as one of the most essential necessities of life. The species in common use with the Delawares and Iroquois was so strong, that they never smoked it alone, but mixed it with the dry leaves of sumac, or with another herb, called by them *degokimak*, or with the red bark of a species of willow." Smoking was practiced by the Indians to a great extent, and by them the pipe was the instrument by which they confirmed their treaties, sealed their friendships and established peace. In times of war the pipe was their flag of truce. The bearer of the pipe preceded the embassy and an insult offered to him was one of the greatest indignities that could be presented to the Indians. In making peace "the meeting is opened by the head chief or President, who smokes for a short time out of the pipe of peace, after it has been devoutly turned toward the heaven and the earth. This ceremony is of such importance, that no European governor or ambassador can make peace with the Indians without it; afterwards the pipe is handed about among all the members of the council, when each of them takes it up very cautiously and smokes for a short time."*

Many of the pipes must have been made of perishable material, otherwise they would not be found so sparingly in comparison to other relics. No. 97 is a gem of a pipe, a remnant of Gen. George M. Keim's collection, and now in the possession of Henry M. Keim, Esq. The cut represents the natural size of the pipe. It is made of a dark serpentine tinged with red. The hole in the body of the pipe is regular and corresponds with the outside in its form, and the hole in the stem is one-quarter of an inch in diameter. The pipe which was found in the vicinity of Pricetown, has a very fine polish and is perfect except the stem, which appears to have been longer. No. 98 represents half the natural size of a fine specimen of pipe found west of Stouchsburg, in Lebanon county, immediately beyond the line between Berks and Lebanon. Though the pipe was found in Lebanon, it belonged to the Tulpehocken Indians, and, since it is probable

*Luskier, Part 1, page 156.

that it was smoked as much in Berks as in Lebanon, a description of the pipe properly belongs to this history. It is made of dark serpentine, well proportioned and generally well preserved. The hole in the body was first drilled and finally scraped, and hence a little irregular, but that of the stem was completed with a drill. This pipe is in the collection of Mr. H. L. Illig, Millbach, Lebanon county.

The most elaborate pipe ever found in the county was in Gen. George M. Keim's collection, which was presented to the Smithsonian Institution in 1868. H. M. Keim, Esq., informs me that it was made of serpentine, and besides the fine shape and finish there were four faces rudely cut upon the body of the pipe. It is plausible that the few pipes that have been found belonged to their kings or chiefs, and were used only on extraordinary occasions, and that the lower class of Indians used pipes made of the hollow stems of some vegetable product, or some other perishable matter.

Relics of Unknown Uses.

The use of some of the relics that have been described, was based upon conjecture, but the peculiar shapes and marks of usage so plainly pointed out the objects for which they were intended, that the conjecture fell very little short of certainty. The relics that are to be described now are unclassified, and the last of the polished specimens.

No. 99 is a peculiarly shaped and well polished stone, found by Mr. Ezra High on his farm. The mineral is a carbonate of lime. It might be argued that it was a pebble from the Schuylkill, and that the shaping and polishing of the stone was the operation of the water, but there is strong proof to the contrary. Water has a tendency to round stones on all sides. This one is conchoidal on the top, three-fourths of an inch thick in the middle, round below, but a little concave toward the projection on the left in the cut, and tapers until it comes to a fine edge from *a* to *b*. There is no relic in the county that has a finer cutting edge than this, and it might have been a skinning or scalping knife, but No. 100, which is made of the same kind of stone and in some respects resembles No. 99, was undoubtedly intended for some other purpose. While the projection of No. 99 is very sharp, and might probably have been used as a knife, that of No. 100 is a triangular pyramid and projects nearly midway between the upper and the lower surface. The stone is two inches thick at *a* and tapers like a wedge towards the lower extremity, where it has a fine cutting edge. The upper part has nearly the form of a triangular pyramid with its sides, angles and apex rounded. The lower surface of the stone differs very little from the upper. Towards the left side there is a deep groove above and below, but diminishes toward the upper extremity. This relic is well polished. It has no defects or marks of usage by which to form even a vague conjecture of the object for which the Indians designed this stone.

No. 101 (Maj. S. L. Young's) is a fragment of a relic made of green serpentine, and is evidently the head of a snake or serpent. A cross section of the specimen is triangular in its form. The head is a little thicker about the eyes, one of which is a semi-globular elevation, and is a part of the original stone, and the other is a globule of Sulphuret of Iron, three-

sixteenths of an inch in diameter, partly imbedded in the stone and fastened with cement. There is nothing about the head to represent the mouth, but near that extremity there are, though in a different direction, four notches on the one side and three on the other, and on the top of the head are distinct notches about an eighth of an inch apart, and along one of the lower sides are notches also. These notches, like some marks on some of the preceding relics, may have been ornaments, or they may be significant records of great deeds or marks of honor.

No. 102 is a hard, well polished stone, a little more than a quarter of an inch thick, with a beautiful bead around the circumference. No. 103 (Mr. I. D. DeTurck's) is made of a light yellow stone resembling a variety of chalcedony in this county, but it is not so hard. The straight side is sharp and appears to have been used as a scraper. The other sides are rounded and the stone has a good polish.

Chipped Implements.

The relics that were described thus far were, with a few exceptions, those that were ground and polished, and those that remain to be described, are relics whose surfaces are uneven, and were brought into shape by a process called *chipping*. In mineralogy there are ten degrees of hardness. Tale, or soapstone, is 1, the diamond, the hardest substance known, is 10. The ground and polished implements range in hardness from 1 to 5, and a few 6, with the exception of two skinning knives to be described in the appendix. The chipped implements are nearly all made of minerals whose hardness is 7. A quartz or jasper axe would have been more durable than those made by the Indians, but it would be a tedious work to shape an axe out of a block of jasper with a modern lapidary's mill, and it would have been infinitely more so among the Indians. The reason why the Indians used the hardest stones for chipping is because it is almost impossible to chip the softer stones. The minerals used by the Indians for chipping, were quartzite, quartz, jasper, chalcedony and basanite, (also called lydian stone and touchstone) and a few of limestone, but these are all ill-shaped specimens. These minerals are found abundantly through Ruscombmanor, Rockland, Longswamp and Maxatawny. A few specimens have been found that were made of Western flint, and this shows that the Indians bartered with each other.

It may not be uninteresting to know how they chipped their arrow-heads, knives, &c. It must be remembered that they had no steel hammers, cold chisels, and vises, and if they would have been in possession of these useful tools they could not have used them for chipping. Every mineralogist knows that when a delicate mineral is to be trimmed, a steel hammer generally fractures it in a direction contrary to the desired one. The only things they needed were bone and wood, and skill to use them. That the Indians had workshops or places where they made their implements, is evident, from the fact that where they had their villages certain spots are found covered with chips of stones from which they made their arrow-heads, and it is credible that they had mechanics who made their axes, pestles, ornaments and large spear and arrow-heads; but the more ordinary arrow-heads were made by all Indians, and even by boys. When Tocacolie was murdered on the Cacoosing, John Roberts's wife said in her testimony, "that the Indian boy that was in com-

pany with the other Indians, was in the house, and made three arrows in the house."

The question is often asked, How did the Indians make the arrow-heads? The first step was to select a solid stone of uniform density, and, by trial, discover which way the stone chips. "Flints" do not chip equally well in all directions. The second step is flaking or breaking large chips off a rock. This operation can be performed well by taking a solid bone and setting one end of it near the sharp edge of a stone, in the manner of a cold chisel, and striking on the other end with a hammer. An iron chisel will touch the stone at one or two points and cause the stone to break off irregularly, but a bone yields a little and buries itself into the irregularities of the stone, so that the contact is greater, and a blow is not so abrupt as to shatter the flake or chip. I was recently experimenting very successfully with a block of chalcedony and a hard dry piece of hickory.



The third and last step is to take the flakes or chips and chip them into arrow-heads. This operation is performed by pressure. A stroke with a hammer does not chip but break the stone. No. 104 illustrates the process of chipping. Any man with ordinary skill can make a small arrow-head in his hands with the handle of a tooth-brush by giving it a gentle pressure and an upward movement. If it is desirable to chip to the middle of the stone it will be necessary to hold the bone nearly perpendicular to the plane of the stone, like the brush in the cut, but if the operator desires to chip more bluntly, he must give the bone an inclination. For the large and even middle-sized chipped implements the Indians must have tied a bone on a heavy stick and used it as a lever, otherwise it is difficult to conceive how they could have obtained a sufficient amount of pressure; direct physical force would have been inadequate.

Arrow-Heads.

Arrow-heads constitute by far the largest class of relics. They were made of hard fragile minerals and consequently many were broken by being shot against trees or by falling upon stones, but thousands of them are found, that have not been injured by use or accident. The variety is so great that it is

impossible to give cuts of all those that differ only in minor points. With regard to form arrow-heads may be divided into certain general classes, each of which is to be illustrated. Men often ask why the Indians made arrow-heads of such various forms. Others say that each variety indicated a different tribe or sub-tribe. In this part of the country the large implements are of the same form and made of the same material. In making arrow-heads the flakes may often have dictated their form, whereas others were shaped in accordance with the taste and fancy of the maker. If the Indians had desired it they could have made all their arrows of the same size and form, except the choncoidal fractures produced by chipping. It was as easy for them to chip a large arrow-head down to a small one without breaking it, as it is for a Caucasian to whittle a stick down to a tooth-pick.

The Indians used to take a stick, split one end, insert the arrow-head and tie it firmly where it was notched. Their shooting with the bow and arrow was similar to that of the present day.

The cuts of the chipped implements represent their natural sizes.

Nos. 105, 6, 7 and 8 are samples of the largest arrow-heads. No. 105 is a beautiful specimen of quartzite, chipped so evenly that it has very few irregularities on its surface. No. 106 is of jasper with well defined chipping. Their stems are tapering, and belong to a class not very numerous, probably, for the reason that they could not be fastened so readily and firmly to a stick to be used as an arrow. Nos. 107 and 8 are made of quartzite and are representatives, in form, size and mineral, of a very large class of arrow-heads. No. 109 is of quartzite and belongs to a class of slender implements that are frequently met with. It is generally believed that they were attached to sticks and used as fish-gigs. Loskiel says: "Little boys are even frequently seen wading in shallow brooks, shooting small fishes with their bows and arrows." It is evident that they could not have been used to shoot fish in shallow water, because the points would have been broken off by striking against the stones in the brook. It is quite common to find medium-sized arrow-heads that were blunted by striking against hard bodies, and it is probable that these were used to shoot fish in shallow water.

Nos. 110 and 111 are serrated. The former is of yellow jasper, nearly straight on one side and curved on the other. It does not have the symmetrical form of the arrow-head, and the defective teeth on the curved side indicate conclusively that it was fastened to a stick and used as a saw. The latter is made of basanite—a jet-black "flint" generally found in the jasper localities of the county. All the teeth except one are partly broken off. When it was in its complete state it was an arrow-head of rare beauty and fine workmanship.

No. 112, notched at the sides, with a concave base, No. 113, notched at the sides with a straight base, and No. 114, notched at the sides with a convex base, are the medium-sized specimens that represent a very large class. No. 115 is made of basanite and is very unique in its form. It has a sharp tooth on each side, a deep chipping at the base and a small notch on one side. The teeth may have been intended as retainers for the strings or thongs that were used to fasten the arrow-heads.

Nos. 116, 117, 118 and 119 are drills. Quite a variety of these elongated specimens are found; the most splendid ones are usually defective. Arrow-

heads pass so gradually into drills that it is often difficult to determine whether they are drills or arrow-heads. The drills were fastened to a stick like arrow-heads and whirled round with the hand, or a bow and string. The small holes in Nos. 74 and 75 were drilled in this manner. Large holes were drilled with a reed and fine sand, the marks made by the sand being still visible. No. 72 is a specimen that proves this mode of drilling in the most satisfactory manner.

Nos. 120 and 121 are stemmed like arrow-heads, but their sides are not symmetrical and, hence, could not have been used as arrow-heads. This class of implements is large and differs in the size of the specimens, but the one side is always perceptibly larger and sharper than the other and from these facts we can conclude beyond a doubt that they were tied to a stick like arrow-heads and used as knives.

No. 122 is a form of arrow-head quite common in Berks county, and as far as I have observed they are all made of the finest quality of jasper. The form of No. 123 (Mr. J. H. Bupp's) is also very common, but the mineral of which it is made is extremely rare. I never met a mineral of the same color and properties in the study of mineralogy and the collection of specimens. It has a beautifully green color and its glassy nature and appearance lead me to call it an obsidian. These two specimens belong to a small class of arrow-heads that have a beveled edge on each side. The beveling of the edges was probably intended to give the arrow a rotary motion, but it affected only a comparatively small part of the surface of the arrow-head, so that it must have had very little tendency to give it the desired motion.

Nos. 124, 125 and 126 are very excellent, barbed and stemmed specimens made of basanite and jasper. These arrow-heads are rather rare, but all the specimens are of the finest material and workmanship. Nos. 125 and 126 (Mr. H. M. Keim's) are two of the most beautiful and delicate arrow-heads that I have ever seen. In addition to being barbed and stemmed they are serrated, and thus combine two of the most beautiful features in the whole range of arrow-making.

Nos. 127 to 130 represent the size and general forms of a large number of small arrow-heads. No. 129 is not met with so frequently, especially in a perfect form. The barbs are so slender and easily broken that it seems doubtful whether these specimens were used as arrow-heads. I have about a dozen in my collection, though few are entire specimens.

No. 131 is a unique specimen made of quartzite, and chipped so evenly, that, were it not for a few irregularities on the surface, it would be as smooth as some of the pecked implements described under a preceding heading. It is heavy for the point of an arrow, and may have been a spear-head, but the peculiar and graceful form induces me to believe that it was neither, at least it is not probable that it was in the hands of one of the lower class of Indians, and used for all ordinary purposes. No. 132 is a fine specimen made of jasper. Its form approaches that of the knives, but the stem is so small and tapering that it would seem almost impossible to fasten it to a handle. No specific use can, therefore, be assigned to this relic. No. 133 is chipped like a spear-head, but it seems to be too blunt for that purpose. It may have been used as a digging tool. No. 134 is made of quartzite and has the form of a drill, but since it is larger than the usual size of the drills it might have been used

as a spear-head. The point of it is broken off. No. 135 is a specimen of quartzite in the form of an arrow-head, and might have been used as such until the point was broken off. It is chipped very evenly. The peculiarities about this relic are the notches along both edges and the general smoothness caused by use. The notches were worn into this relic by rubbing it along a string or a narrow strip of the hide of some animal to round it for a bow string. A handle was fastened to the stem and then it formed a very convenient tool for the purpose, and must have been in use a long time.

No. 136 is figured here not because it is believed to have been an arrow-head, but because in some respects it resembles one. Both ends are chipped nearly alike and the one side is considerably thicker than the other. The use of this relic is doubtful. No. 137 is a specimen of basanite, elegantly chipped. This form of relic is not rare. All the specimens in my collection are made of jasper or basanite, and are perfect. They are all wide and straight at the base, and it is not probable that they were used as arrow-heads.

No. 138 (Mr. J. H. Bubb's), is the only specimen of this peculiar shape in the county. It is made of a brownish jasper, elegantly chipped and perfect with the exception of a fracture at *a*, which indicates that a prominent point like that on the opposite side, was broken off. It is not symmetrical enough for an arrow-head. It is plausible that the point was used as a perforator and the projections or barbs near the stem, one of which is still very sharp, were used for cutting purposes.

Triangular Arrow-Heads.

In studying the triangular arrow-heads we find that there is as much variety in size and form, in proportion to the number, as there is in the class just described. Nos. 139 and 145, with straight sides and bases are forms most frequently met with. The base was put into a stick split for the purpose, and tied in the same manner as stemmed arrow-heads were fastened. In a collection of nearly five thousand specimens I have two hundred triangular ones. No. 139 (Mr. Ezra High's) is of a size that is often found. Mr. High found this and another one precisely like it, upon the same spot. They are thin, made of jasper and are chipped most beautifully. The Indians loved ornaments and enjoyed their rude fineries with the same degree of fondness that we do ours, and I am, therefore, of the opinion that some of those relics, on account of their rare form or delicacy, were made for ornaments, while others were gifts made to friends, and cherished as keepsakes. It is my impression that these two relics were not intended to be arrow points. No. 140—straight sides and concave base—is a common form of the triangular arrow-head. No. 141 (Dr. C. Wanner's)—concave base and serpentine sides—is not symmetrical and could not be used as an arrow-head. The point is broken off. No. 142—irregular sides, concave base and "round corners"—is not found very frequently. No. 143 (Mr. I. D. DeTurck's)—concave sides and base—is a good specimen of a unique shape. No. 144 is made of an impure chalcedony, irregular in its form, and hence, could not have been intended for an arrow-head. No. 145 is the smallest of the triangular specimens

Daggers.

There is a small class of long, slender implements which suggest to the

the idea of a dagger. The Indians were always noted for their fighting, and since their battles and individual conflicts were, generally, hand to hand, they were provided with war-clubs, daggers, &c. No. 146 (Mr. E. J. Adin's), is the finest specimen of this class. It is made of "grey flint," a flint evidently from the west, and has a blade nearly as thick as it is long.

A handle firmly fastened to this blade, would make an effective weapon. No. 147 (Maj. S. L. Young's), differs somewhat in form from the preceding, but it was undoubtedly used for the same purpose. It is made of quartzite and appears to be broken off at the point. Broken specimens are found in a few of the collections of the county.

Knives.

The Indians had two kinds of knives. Knives of the smaller class, Nos. 120 and 121, were stemmed and fastened to a handle, while the larger ones were of a different shape and were so long that they could be held firmly without a special handle. No. 148 is a very excellent specimen of a number of implements generally denominated spear-heads, but it is my opinion that this one was used as a knife. It has a sharp point and a keen edge.

These features would have made it very effective as a spear-head, but only a quarter of an inch thick in the middle, and, in consequence of its thinness, the slightest lateral pressure would have broken it, besides the spear-heads were generally stemmed. This specimen is made of yellow jasper and is tipped most elegantly, the primary chips on both sides meeting near the middle. The irregularity on the right edge in the cut, is a fracture caused by an agricultural implement. It was found by, and has been in the possession of Mr. George Bolich, who lives in the north-western part of Albany township, on the spot where the Gerhart family was murdered by the Indians in 1756. Some time ago, when an old orchard was plowed on Dick's farm, several implements of "black flint" were unearthed at one time.

They resemble No. 148 in shape, but they vary a little in size, and are more than twice as thick. They are not as pointed, neither are their edges as keen as those of No. 148. I am inclined to call them knives, and yet they might, with equal propriety, be called spear-heads. They are in Maj. S. L. Young's collection at present, and are valuable on account of their number, proximity and rare mineral. No. 149 is made of quartzite and is classed with the knives, not on account of its fine cutting edge but on account of its shape. The broad end is shaped so as to form an excellent handle. This implement was used for "sticking beasts" or stabbing, and may properly be classed with the daggers. Perfect specimens are rather rare, but broken ones are found in different parts of the county.

No. 150 represents the most common form. Knives of this size are found abundantly over the county and are made of quartzite and jasper. Some are perfectly straight at the base, and the blades have every conceivable shape between No. 148 the widest, and No. 149, the narrowest.

Digging Tools and Scrapers.

In examining specimens and observing the marks of usage, it is often a mere conjecture to say that a certain specimen was employed in a certain operation. The use of such a use would affect a stone implement in a similar manner, and it is reasonable to believe that the Indians scarcely, if ever, designed any

implements for specific uses, but that they used all implements, wherever practicable. The relics I am about to describe now, are relics that might have been employed for a variety of purposes, but there are certain peculiarities that induce me to call some digging tools; others, scrapers. No. 151 (Maj. S. L. Young's), is an excellent specimen of quartzite, well chipped and having a fine edge at the broad end and sides. With a handle fastened to the stem it would have served well either as a digging tool or scraper. I have several in my collection, but their edges are blunt and were probably made so by long use. No. 152 was evidently intended to be used for a similar purpose. It is made of the same mineral, is thinner than the preceding specimen and differs from it in its ovoidal form. No. 153, jasper, and No. 154, basanite, are specimens of a large class of digging tools. They have a shovel-like form and are battered at the edge as though they had been used a long time in digging in the ground.

No. 155 (Mr. E. J. Sharadin's) is a scraper of impure chalcedony, three-eighths of an inch thick. The upper surface is a single fracture except the secondary chipping at the stem. It is beveled below so as to form one of the best possible edges for scraping. This form of the scraper is not very common. Several specimens similar to No. 155 have come to my notice. Another form of the scraper is shown by No. 156 (Mr. A. H. DeTurek's, Leesport). It is made of quartzite and is chipped on both sides, so that there is no difference in the sides except the one is straight and the other a little convex. The edge is still uninjured but the stem is not entire.

Leaf-shaped Implements.

There is a class of implements which, on account of their resemblance to a leaf, are called *leaf-shaped*. They are found in all the collections of the county, but in some sections they abound more than in others. Mr. I. D. DeTurek's collection has a larger per cent. than any other collection, and is especially remarkable for its variety. Their form is nearly the same, but they differ in size. No. 157 (Mr. Henry Weidensaul's) is made of "black flint" and is the largest in the county. It is about a quarter of an inch thick and is chipped very evenly on both sides, the primary chips all meeting in the middle. No. 158 (Mr. Ezra High's) is a beautiful specimen of jasper and is the smallest in the county. The others all vary in size between the two just described, and are made of the same minerals as arrow-heads. No. 159 is a double leaf-shaped specimen and is found in a few collections only.

Archæologists do not appear to specify any particular use for the leaf-shaped implements. Some of the larger ones have sharp edges and may have been used as knives; it is scarcely possible that they were used as spear-heads and the smaller ones could hardly have been used as arrow-heads, because, on account of the thickness of some of them, and the want of stems or other means for firm attachment to a stick. The readers are permitted to make their own surmises with regard to the use of these relics.

Spear-Heads.

Spear-heads do not differ from the arrow-heads in form, but they are larger. The stemmed implements increase gradually from No. 130, the smallest to No. 160, the largest in the county, and it is therefore impossible to draw a dividing line, and to assert with certainty that the class of smaller ones are

arrow-heads, and that of the larger are spear-heads. It is evident that a stick or handle was attached to the so-called spear-heads, but were they then used as spears to capture animals? No. 160 (Mr. E. J. Sharadin's) is of "grey flint," and though it is the largest, yet in its shape it represents a large class. The roundness of the stem is a peculiarity that belongs to only a few. Some are more pointed and others are blunter. Whether these spears were used by the Indians exclusively to kill bears and other wild animals after they had cornered them in the rocks or thickets, is problematical. There is no doubt about the spear being a part of the hunter's equipment, but those who maintain that it was the principal weapon with which the Indians killed their wild animals, will be convinced after experimenting with the spear and the skin of a domestic animal, that it was difficult to pierce the shaggy coat and to inflict a flesh wound upon a bear. That these implements were used for other purposes is proved conclusively by No. 160. The sharp elevations produced by chipping, are all worn off as though it had been used for digging in the ground. Probably it was a digging tool. No. 161 (Mr. E. J. Sharadin's) is decidedly the finest and most elaborate spear-head in the county. It is made of a fine quality of jasper. An inch at the point, one of the barbs and a part of the stem are of a deep red color and the rest is of a beautiful yellow. The body of this spear-head is three-tenths of an inch in thickness, and the chipping along the edge is excellent and was performed by one of the most skillful Indian mechanics. The edges are beveled on both sides.

The Indians subsisted principally upon the flesh of wild animals and clothed themselves with their skins. Their game consisted of foxes, raccoons, bears and deer. The deer were apparently the most numerous and most eagerly hunted by the Indians. We would hardly attempt a deer hunt with bow and arrow and spear, but these were the instruments which the Indians used before they obtained guns from the white people, and they appear to have captured many by stratagem and their extraordinary fleetness. Loskiel says: "In detecting and pursuing game, they almost exceed the best trained dogs, in following its course with certainty. They run so swift, that if a deer does not fall upon the first shot, they throw away their blanket and seldom fail to overtake him.* The following extract from the same author will convey some idea of the abundance of the deer: "In former times the Indians killed only as much game as they wanted for food and clothing, as the dress of both the men and women was made entirely of skins. These animals, of course, were then very numerous everywhere. But now when a large buckskin sells for a Spanish dollar, the game is pursued for the sake of trade, and a clever huntsman will shoot from fifty to one hundred and fifty deer in one autumn, and consequently they must decrease very fast in number. As the principal object in shooting them is their skin, the flesh is left in the forest, and devoured by the wild beasts and carnivorous birds."† Old people in the upper part of Berks county say that in their younger days deer were abundant along the Blue Mountains, and that whenever hunters went out they were sure to capture one.

*Part 1, page 76.

†Part 1, page 79

Implements of Unknown Uses.

No. 162 is a lozenge-shaped implement made of yellow jasper. It was chipped with care and was designed for some special though unknown purpose. This variety is rarely found. Only two specimens of No. 163, one of basanite and one of quartz, have come to my notice. Both are in Mr. H. D. Dick's collection. The primary and secondary chipping shows that the shape is not the result of random workmanship, but that of design. No. 164 (Mr. J. H. Bupp's) is an isolated specimen of jasper. In some respects it resembles an arrow-head, but its beveled edges and three peculiar indentations are sufficient reasons to believe that it was not intended to be an arrow-head. Nos. 165 and 166 are individual specimens from Mr. A. H. DeTurek's collection, of Leesport. No. 165 is made of quartzite and is chipped so evenly that it is impossible to trace out the chips. It is notched in the middle and is half an inch thick. Both ends and sides are nearly alike. No. 166 is a relic of brown jasper from Mr. J. Phillips's farm. The body is leaf-shaped, but the straight base and the barbs are peculiarities that belong to this specimen alone. No. 167 (Mr. Ezra High's) is a specimen of a class of relics whose shape is nearly that of the segment of a circle. All that I have seen, are made of quartzite, and I have found them in no collections but those of Messrs. Ezra High and J. D. DeTurek. Mr. High has another kind of relics (No. 168) that I did not notice anywhere else. They are fragments of rocks, that are brought into shape by coarse chipping. They are thick at the stem and taper like a wedge to a sharp edge, and are much wider at the edge than at the stem, where they appear to be broken off by use. Loskiel, speaking of the war-weapons of the Indians, says: "The war-clubs were made of the hardest wood, not quite the length of a man's arm, and very heavy, with a large round knob at the end. They now arm the knobs of their clubs with nails and pieces of iron." Before they obtained nails and pieces of iron from the whites, they fastened pieces of stone to their clubs to inflict more ghastly wounds, and it is my impression that these relics were used for that purpose.

No. 169 is a very interesting and unique specimen from Major S. L. Young's collection. It is stemmed like an arrow-head, and its body being circular opposite to the stem, is full of notches so as to make it look like a saw. The mineral is jasper.

Turtle Backs.

In some localities there is a kind of Indian relics found which on account of their thickness and resemblance to the back of a turtle are called "turtle backs." Quite a number of these relics are found in the county and comprise the principal varieties of relics. Some archaeologists are of the opinion that since these are generally ruder they were made by a race of people that inhabited this country before the Delaware Indians obtained possession of the soil. The Delawares were called Lenni Lenape, which in their language signified *original people*, and if they were correct about the early history of their tribe, then all the relics that are found in this part of the country, are the work of the Delawares. Uninfluenced by this statement, I am convinced by a close examination of the "turtle backs" of Berks county, that they were made by the same people as well as they are of the same minerals. Some of them are rudely chipped of a poor quality of stone which may

have been selected by an apprentice ignorant of the quality of stones necessary to chip well, and then rejected before they were fully completed. No. 170 represents half the size of a roughly chipped spear-head of quartzite nearly as thick as it is wide. It is of the same mineral as thousands of other relics in the county, though coarser, and judging by its appearance it cannot be older. This and many others were undoubtedly rejected because the mineral was of inferior quality. There are relics found, however, that convince me that the Delawares made "turtle backs" for some special purpose, because they are made of the finest minerals and chipped as well as their best arrow-heads. No. 171 is a specimen of quartzite, almost an inch thick, with primary and secondary chipping on both sides. No. 172 is one of yellow jasper nearly three quarters of an inch thick, chipped like the preceding. These are not the result of poor material and unskilled workmanship. They are made of the best quality of quartzite and jasper, and the Indian that chipped the last two, could have made them into any desirable shape.

APPENDIX.

Double grooved axes are extremely rare. As far as known only one has been found in the county, (in Richmond township) and is in the possession of Dr. Long, of Fleetwood. No. 173 represents half the natural size of this axe. It is a perfect specimen. The grooves have the usual depth and the ridge between them is considerably elevated. The upper part is nearly round and the lower has the usual flat form of the axe. It is made of shale.

Nos. 174, 5 and 6 are from the collection of H. M. Keim, Esq., of Reading. The first two were undoubtedly used as knives and are remarkable for their small sizes, but more especially for being the only two polished specimens of hard mineral. No. 174 is made of quartz that is a little porous, and is ground to a fine edge. No. 175 is made of red jasper and is ground all over. A few chips are visible and this demonstrates that the knife was first chipped and then ground. It is exceedingly well polished and would require very little time to give it the gloss of a modern lapidist, and it would be difficult to grind a jasper and give it a keener edge than this has. These two implements prove that the Indians could grind and polish quartz and minerals of equal hardness, but, since only two specimens have been found in the county we may infer that the process was very slow and tedious. No. 176 appears to be made of finely crystallized diorite. It is in the form of a parabolic spindle and the groove would seem to indicate its use as a sinker, but two faces worn on opposite sides prove conclusively that it was intended for some other purpose.

Indian Burying Ground at Kutztown.

In consequence of the cultivation of all the land occupied by the Indians, and the disappearance of all their graves, the following letter from A. B. Wanner, Esq., of Reading, gives some valuable information with reference to the burial of the Indians:

READING, PA., APRIL 11, 1881.

PROF. D. B. BRUNNER.

Dear Sir:—Knowing that you are about publishing a history of the Indians and relics of Berks county, and fully appreciating the great worth and value of such a history, I desire to give you the following information, which, if you consider of any value, you may use at your pleasure.

My mother was born about the year 1790 on a farm formerly belonging to her father, and now owned by the heirs of David Sharadin, dec'd, situate about half a mile north-west from the borough of Kutztown. During my early life she frequently told me and my brothers, that there were a large number of Indians buried on the north-western portion of said farm, then consisting of a dense woods, and when a small child the mounds of the graves were clearly visible. The graves as pointed out were on rising ground, and a short distance therefrom was a ravine, through which, from all indications, must have been flowing a considerable stream of water, but is now dry for at least 60 years. In about the year 1848, myself and others concluded to make a search of the place pointed out to us, of the burial-ground and such relics as we could find. We had no difficulty in discover-

ing graves; the nature of the soil was so different from the surrounding, that it was detected at once. At a depth of about 3 feet, we discovered a full set of bones of a human person, but nothing else. We suspended further search for about two weeks, and then made another effort in close proximity to the place we were digging before. At about the same depth we found a full set of bones and the following additional articles: a small copper-kettle holding about 2 quarts; lock and barrel of a pistol about a foot in length; a bullet-mould; a number of bullets; a pocket knife; another knife about 9 inches long, resembling the point of a German scythe, with an iron handle; a certain kind of a shell, and over a pint of glass beads, ranging from a small blue glass bead, $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch long and 1-16 of an inch thick, and white ones from the size of a cherry stone to an ordinary shell-bark. The bones were generally well preserved. The day following this discovery, a party from Kutztown went to the same place and opened a grave, not two feet from the one we were at the day before, and found the remains of another body, which evidently must have been a squaw. They took out of the grave 18 brass finger-rings, and about a quart of spotted glass beads, ranging in size the same as above. This is the only time that I know of any search having been made. In the three graves that were opened, the bodies were buried with the feet almost due west. On the same farm were found in former years a large number of arrows and tomahawks, showing that the place must have at one time been inhabited by a large number of Indians.

A. B. WANNER.

The kettle, pistol lock and barrel are in the possession of Dr. C. Wanner, of Kutztown, and a number of the beads are in Mr. E. J. Sharadin's collection.

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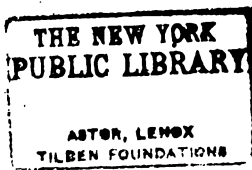
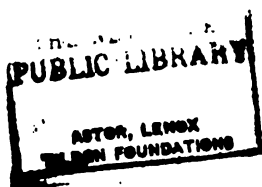
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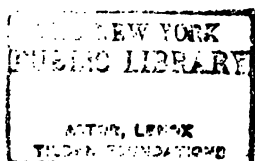
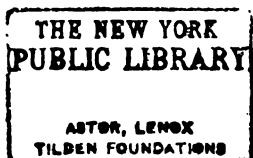
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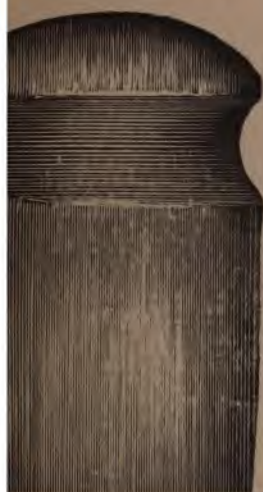




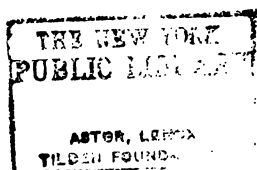
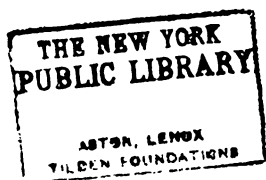
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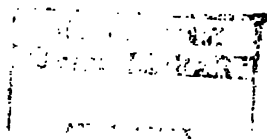
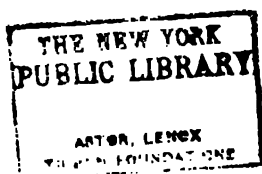
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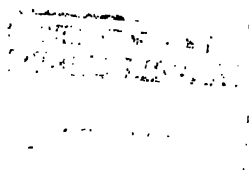
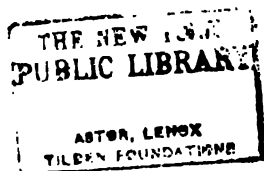
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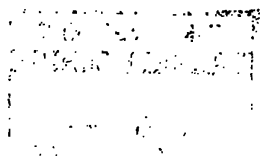
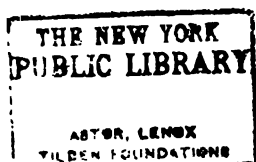
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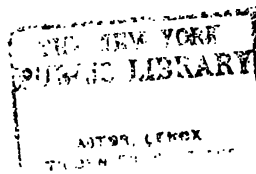
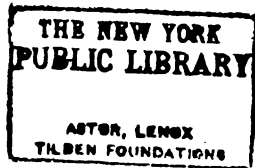
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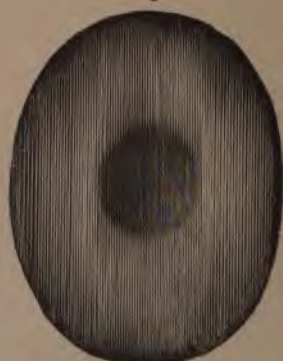
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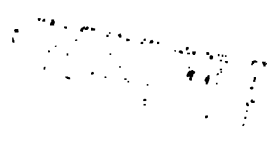
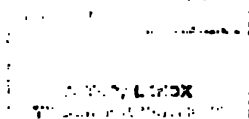
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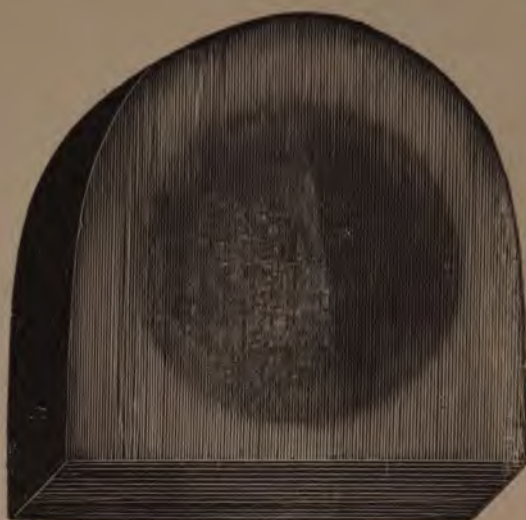


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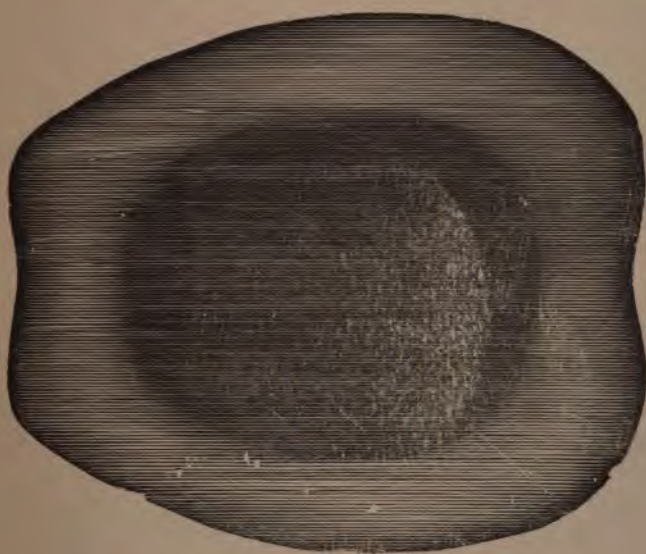




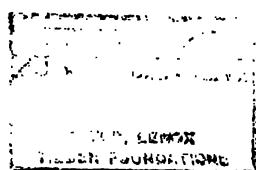
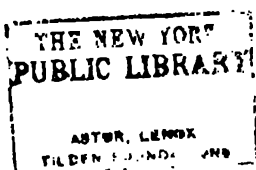
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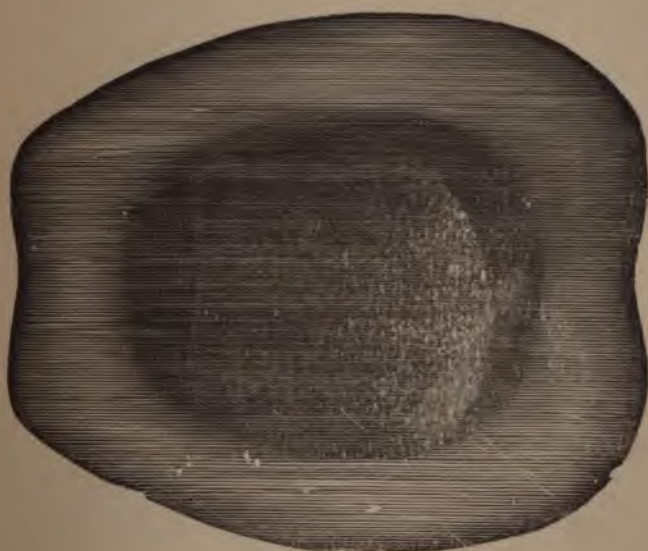




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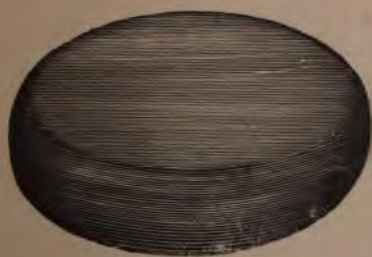
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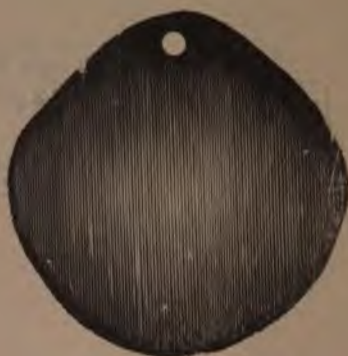




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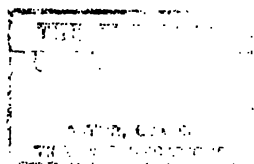
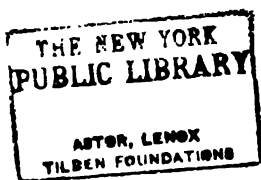
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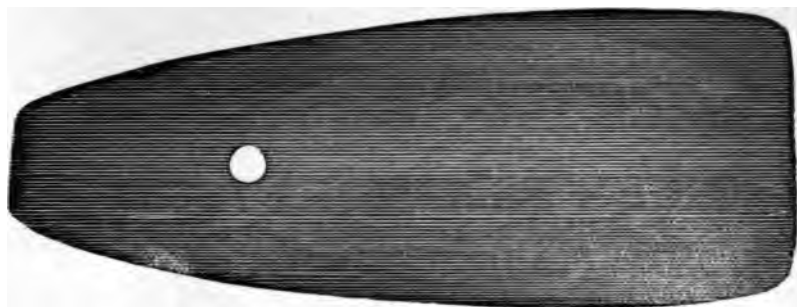


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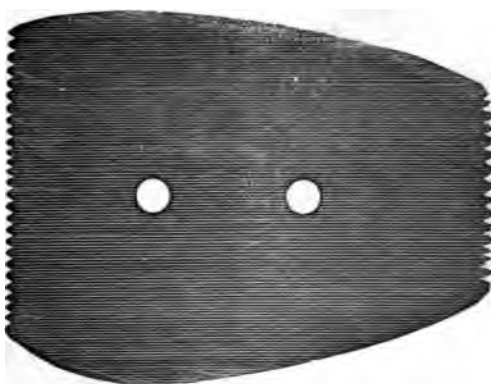


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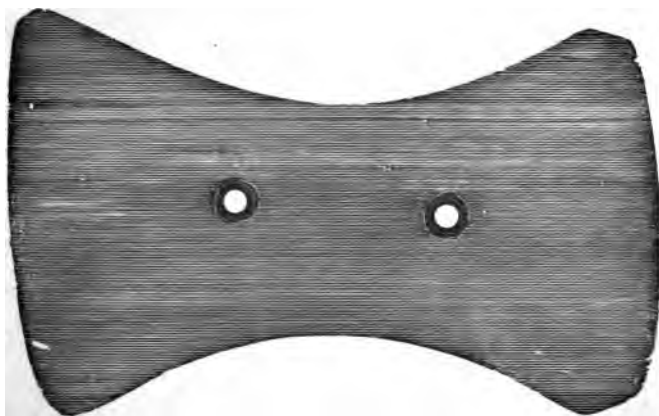




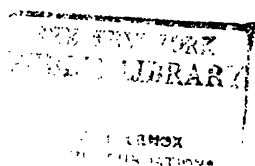
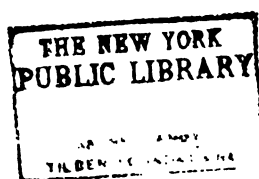
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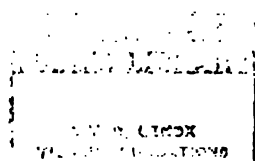
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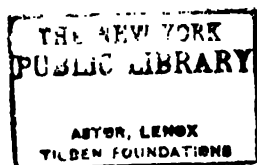
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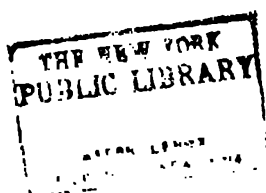
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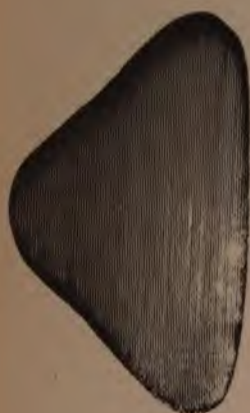


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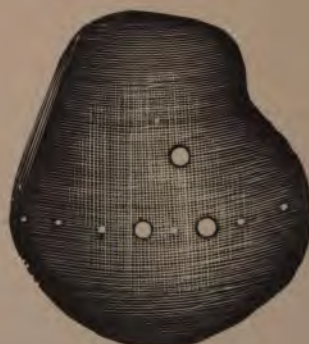
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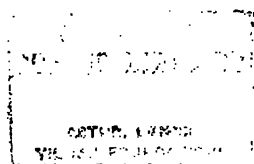
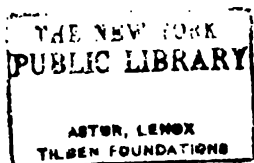
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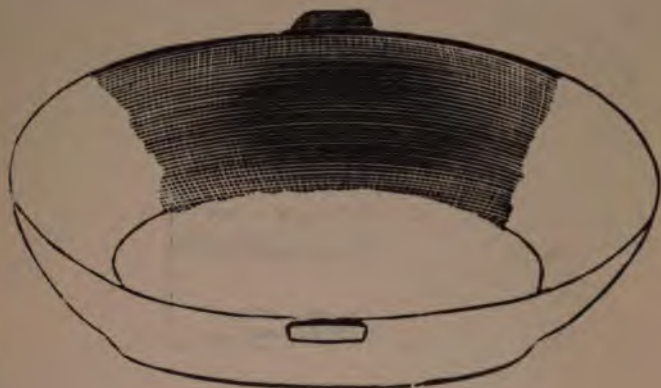


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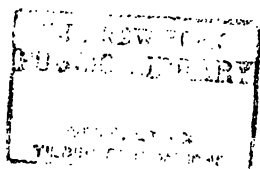
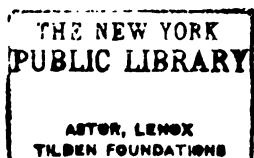
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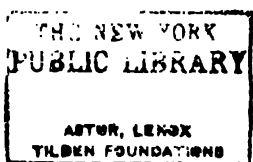
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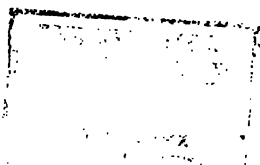
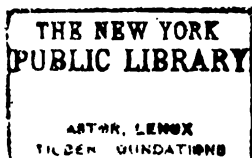
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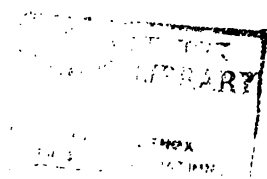
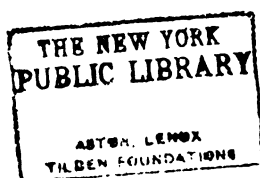
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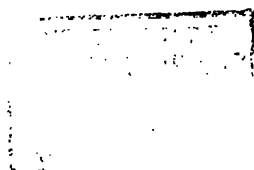
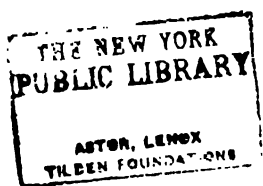
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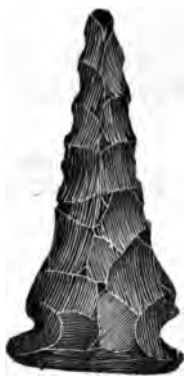




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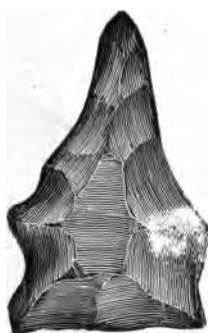
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FROM No. 101 to 173 NATURAL SIZE.



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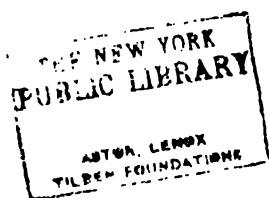
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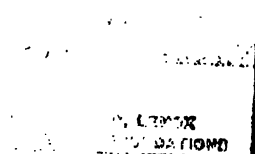
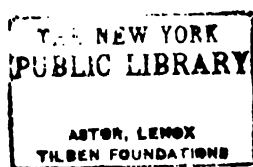


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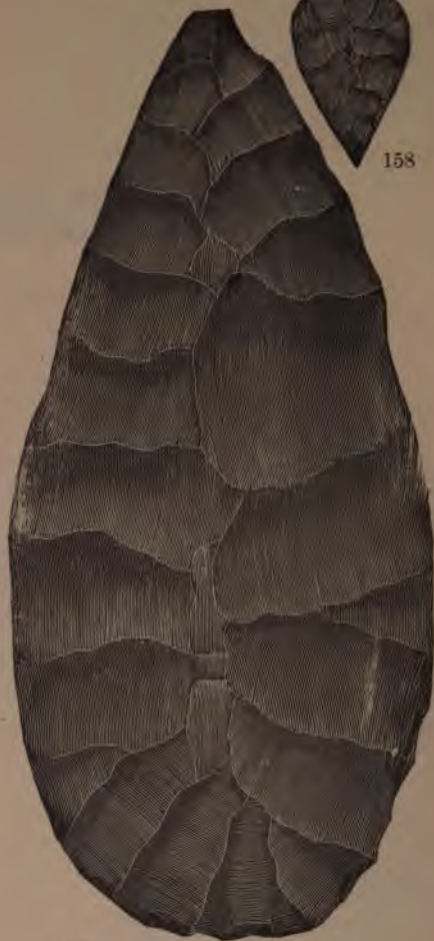
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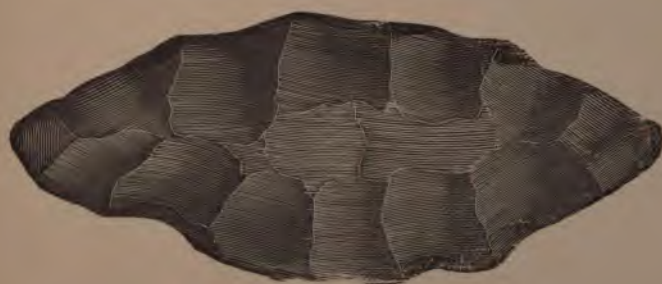
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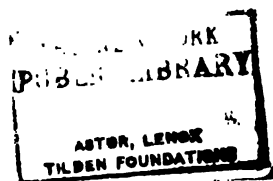
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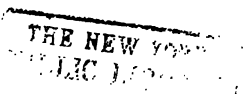
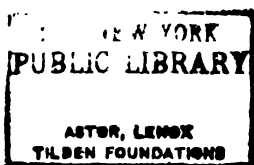




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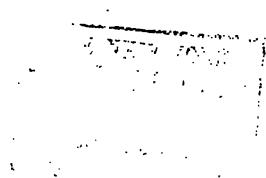
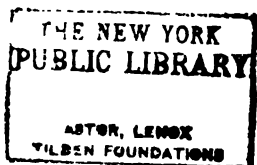
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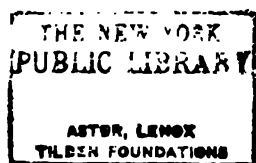
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173 $\frac{1}{2}$ Nat. Size.



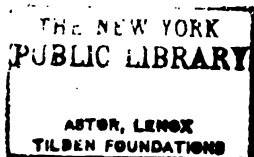
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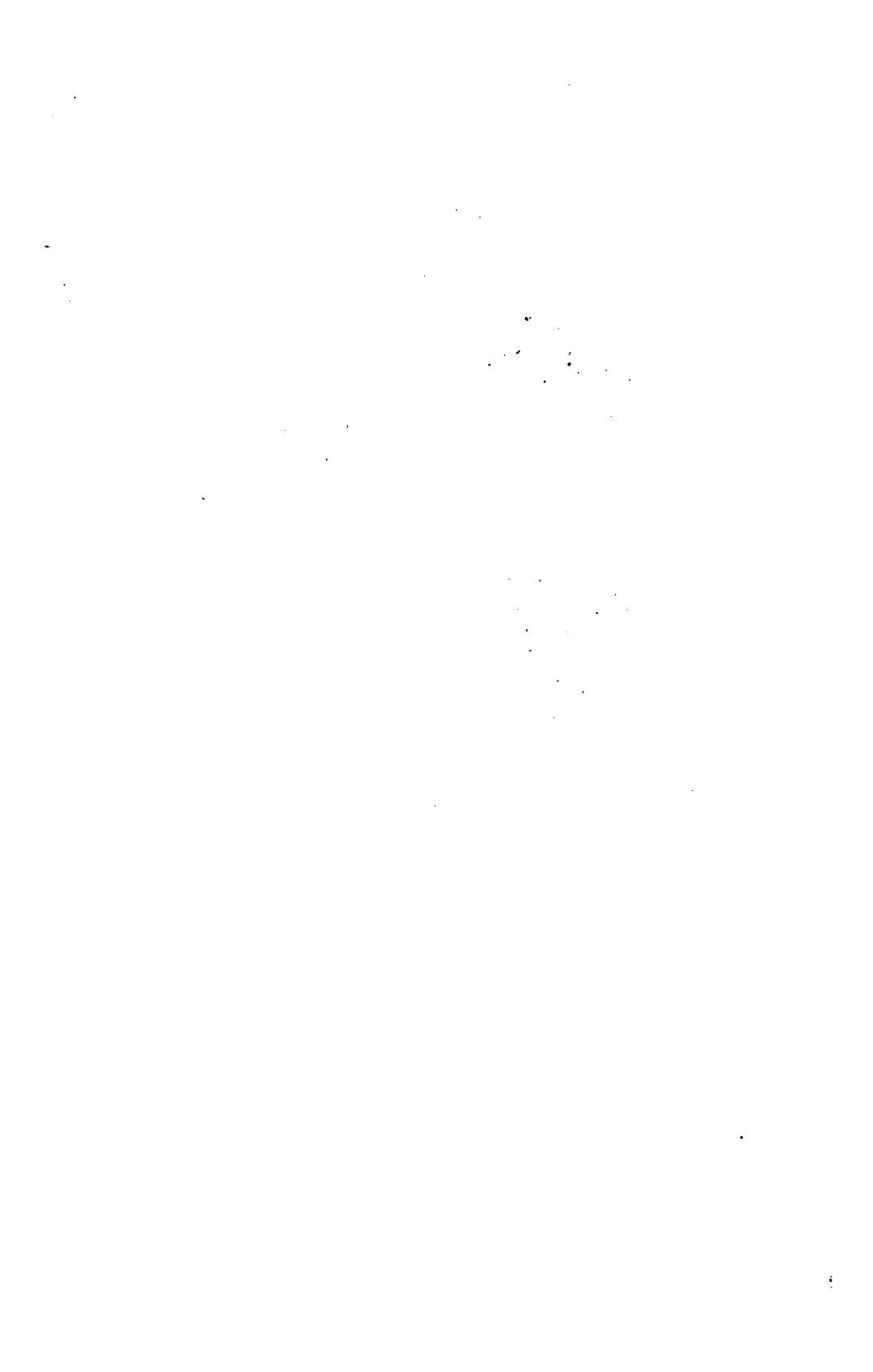
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